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THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBANIZATION IN NORTH AFRICA

by



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ABSTRACT

The development of urban centers in North Africa is an important process because of the role towns have played in the political control of the Maghrib. This thesis attempts to separate the various contributions to this process — the African, the Phoenician and Carthaginian, and the Roman. An outline of the earliest developments (for example, the change to an agricultural and sedentary way of life) is given, together with the particular contributions of individual African kings, especially of Massinissa. Geographical factors are also considered, as well as the economic facets. The impetus of trade and commerce is especially noted in the Phoenician and Carthaginian development in the coastal cities, but their influence on regions of the interior in the west, in the area around Cirta and in the region inland from Carthage is also described. The initial Roman policy towards urban development in Africa is shown to be dominated by relations with Carthage. The amount of Roman emigration to Africa between the conquest of Carthage in 146 B.C. and the Julio-Claudians is considered as well as first formal colonies under Caesar and Augustus. From this point the thesis recounts the rapid growth of Roman control in Africa, on its connection with the development of cities. The main factors contributing to this growth are outlined: the need to control the movements of nomadic tribes, the development of an economy based on wheat and olive production, and the expansion of frontiers. The possible influence of policies which were initiated by various emperors is also considered. The final chapter is concerned with the crisis in city growth in the mid-third century and the probably recovery of the economy and the cities in the period from the fourth century to the time of the Arab conquest.

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TO MY WIFE SHAUNA

AND TO

C. R. WHITTAKER

...non linguae solum verum etiam
animi ac virtutis magister...

(Cicero, De Oratore, III,139)

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Chapter One

The African Origins

Djezirat-el-Maghrib, the "Isle of the West", is the name the Arab invaders gave to the area of North Africa between the Syrtes and the Atlantic Ocean. The region is truly an island of sorts, being bounded by the Mediterranean on the north and the vast 'ocean' of the Sahara to the south and east. Although cut off from the rest of the Mediterranean and African world to a certain extent, the richness of the Maghrib has always proven an irresistible attraction to foreign peoples, and so the history of North Africa is constituted largely of a series of invasions and periods of colonial domination. The Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Arabs, French, Spanish and Italians, all at some stage have represented an imperial element imposed on the indigenous Berber population of North Africa. Since the riches to be gained were mainly agricultural, the control of the rural areas of the Maghrib was essential to a successful colonial venture. The city was the principal weapon used in this domination since the urban center was a strong focal point from which surrounding rural areas could be controlled. Nevertheless, one should not be misled into believing that the urban way of life was a foreign introduction.

Long before the Roman domination of North Africa the development of sedentary patterns of life based on an agricultural economy had made considerable progress. The earliest stages of this process are still unclear because of the lack of a significant body of archaeological evidence from the Neolithic phase of North African prehistory. The appearance of the Neolithic in the Maghrib, while difficult to date with accuracy or

even to trace in origin (details which need not detain us here), can nevertheless be shown to have taken place by the fourth millenium B.C. and to have been, at least partially, an evolution from the local Upper Palaeolithic Capsian tradition of the Tunisian hinterland.¹ Typical implements recovered from these prehistoric sites include perforated stone spheres used as weights for digging-sticks, stone axes and picks used for agricultural purposes, plus a few rare discoveries of bone-and-flint sickles used for harvesting.² Although some rock-paintings display facets of semi-nomadic and agricultural life that scholars would like to attribute to this period, there can be no certainty as to their date, and the same applies to the occasional discovery of what appear to be prehistoric water-management schemes.³ The linguistic evidence, however, does point to a local origin for an agrarian economy, since the word for wheat and the words used to designate the plough and all its parts (a tool with a design peculiar to North Africa) are Berber and show no trace of foreign derivation.⁴ The same type of linguistic evidence also points to the local tending of the wild olive, though it indicates that the Phoenicians probably introduced the cultivation to the domestic olive.⁵ It also indicates that the cultivation of the fig was a local development.⁶ ,

Herodotus provides us with the first literary evidence of the sedentary way of life that resulted from this agrarian-based economy. He states that to the north and west of Lake Triton, the Africans were settled on the land; while to the south and east of this location they were still leading a nomadic existence. The peoples who had settled down and were living in permanent dwellings he called Maxyes, a term which is related to a generic name for the indigenous population of North

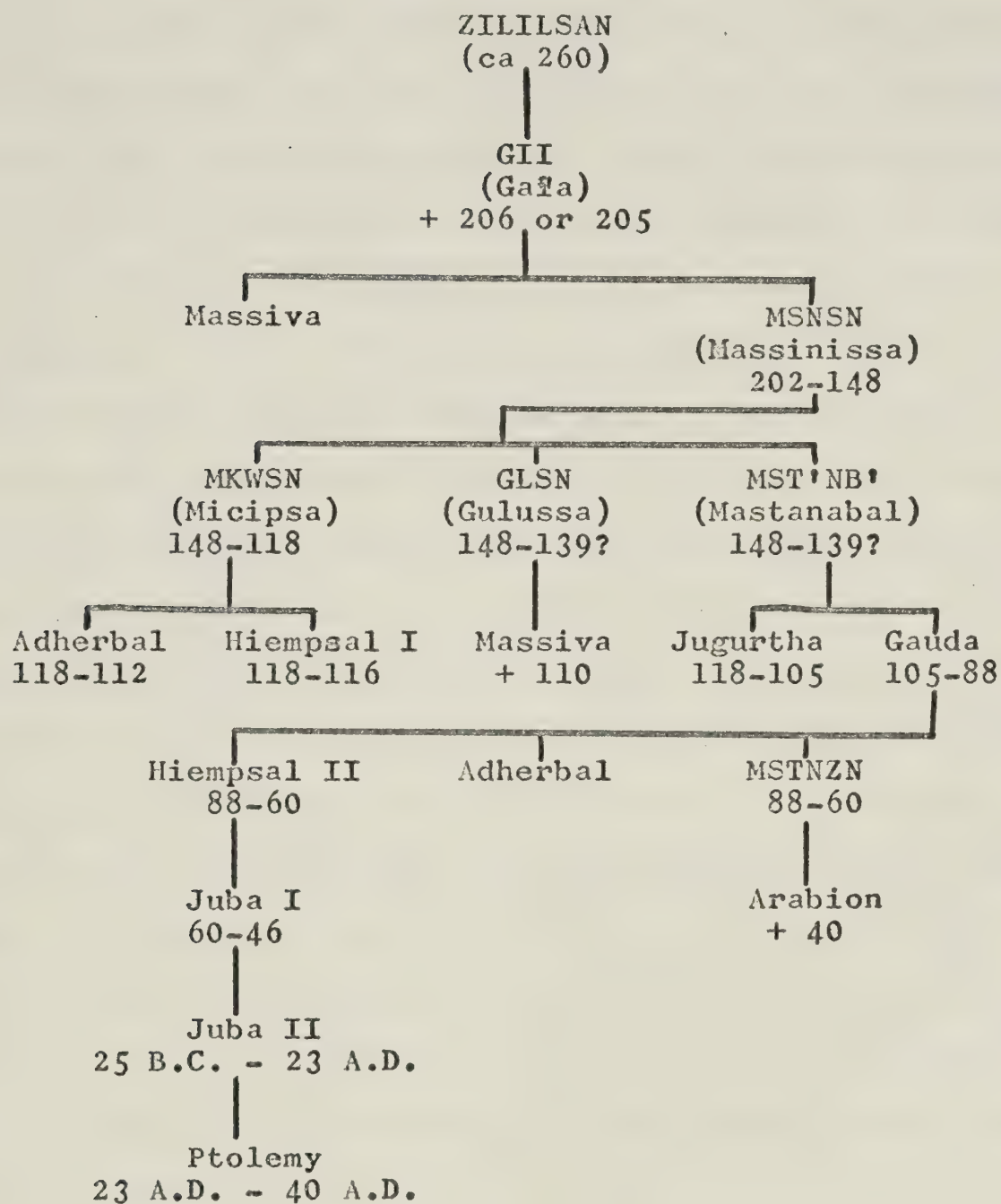
Africa. Although the exact location of Lake Triton is disputed, it can be placed with a fair degree of certainty in the region of the Gulf of Gabes.⁷ Herodotus informs us of the cultivation of the date-palm in this region and the planting of vines and olives on the nearby island of Kerkennah. He also writes about the fabulous "Lotus-Eaters" near the island of Djerba whose plant has been variously identified as the date-palm or the jujube.⁸ He then remarks on the astonishingly high return on wheat crops which are sown in this fertile region (a ratio of three hundred to one).⁹ The pseudo-Scylax, which dates to the fourth century B.C., also records the cultivation of olives, wheat and barley in this same area, and this evidence is corroborated by the geographer Hecataeus who states that the Africans near the island of Djerba were cultivators of wheat.¹⁰

The evidence, therefore, though sparse, leads us to one important conclusion: that an agricultural and settled way of life was established in various regions across North Africa at a very early date and that this sedentary economy was already well-known at the time of our earliest literary sources. That the Greek historians and geographers are familiar with this pattern only in the region inland from the Lesser Syrtis is probably a reflection of the proximity of this area to their own. Undoubtedly such a way of life was established elsewhere in the Maghrib in areas outside of Punic control. Integrally related with this agrarian economy was the development of urban centers, and there is evidence that this process achieved a considerable degree of growth in lands under the control of the African kingdoms.

In his survey of cities across the northern coast of Africa, the geographer Hecataeus mentions several towns in the region of the Lesser Syrtis which have decidedly African names: Zebutis, Megasa, Zugantis and Ybele - although none of these can be identified with known locations. Hecataeus then mentions several cities under Carthaginian control, but as he advances further west along the North African coast he records several other centers by Greek names. Some of these towns cannot be identified with any known Punic ports and therefore are possible African sites: Ianxouatis, Molys, Stroiæ, Stroe and Metagonion.¹¹ The same is true of the pseudo-Scylax which mentions twenty centers to the west of Hippo Regius, only six of which can be identified as Punic ports. The rest, including Iouliou (Iol) the later capital of Juba II, and Siga the capital city of Syphax, seem to be African towns.¹²

In the far west, in the region co-terminous with the present-day state of Morocco, many towns seem to have African origins although they come under Phoenician influence very early. Excavations at Thamusida on the coast and at the inland centers of Tamuda and Banasa have revealed African settlements at their base.¹³ The rest of the cities in this area were probably of African origin as well, but the earliest archaeological evidence uncovered so far does not antedate the era of Phoenician influence. For example, at Volubilis, where the earliest archaeological remains do not antedate the first century B.C., a recently discovered inscription indicates Punic influence as early as the third century B.C., when Punic magistrates known as sufetes were ruling the city.¹⁴

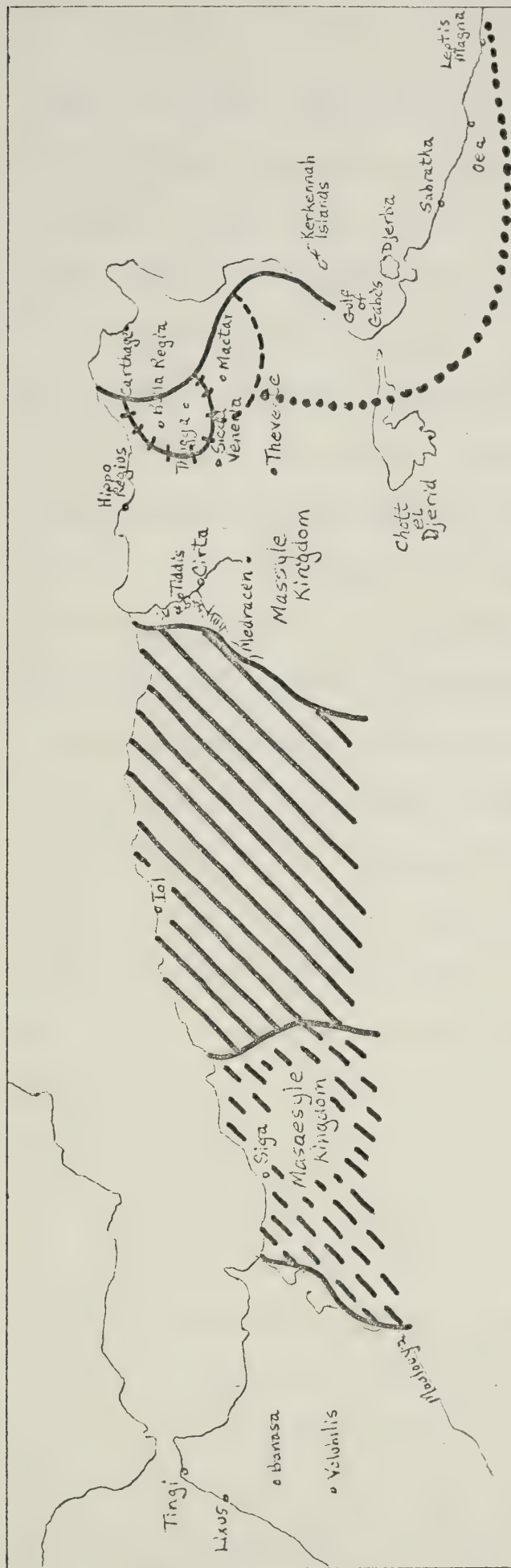
*
THE MASSYLE DYNASTY



(* A partial stemma based on Camps, Massinissa)

Further to the east the great African city of Cirta served as capital for both the kingdoms of Syphax (ruled ca. 230-203 B.C.) and of Massinissa (ruled ca. 202-148 B.C.). The great agricultural development of the Constantine plains around the city probably took place under Syphax in whose reign Cirta had already become a large urban center. This agricultural exploitation must have been attained by the pacification and control of the countryside through fortified communities known as castella. Pliny the Elder (though at a much later date) mentions the existence of these castella across the length of North Africa as specifically African settlements.¹⁵ These armed towns were already built in the area of the "Great Plains" (the upper Bagradas River Valley) and around Mactar in the third century B.C. Livy mentions them among the seventy oppida castellaque which Massinissa reclaimed from Carthaginian control in 174-173 B.C.¹⁶ These are probably the same πύργους καὶ φρουρία (=castella) mentioned by Appian around 149 B.C.¹⁷ In his account of the Jugurthine War, Sallust records the multa castella et oppida in the region of Numidia, and there are several other references by later authors which place castella-like settlements in areas under African control.¹⁸ All this evidence would tend to justify Gsell's hypothesis that the castella later attributed to Cirta in Roman times were earlier African foundations.¹⁹

Massinissa continued this development of agriculture in the Constantine plains, when with Roman support he took over the area from Syphax in 203 B.C. Between 201 and 193 B.C. he extended his kingdom by conquest over the entire territory between the Amsaga River and the Mou-



THE AFRICANS AND THE CARTHAGINIANS

Massinissa's Conquests

	201-200 B.C.
	200-193 B.C.
	193-162 B.C.
	174-172 B.C. (Pagus Thuscae)
	153-152 B.C. (Magni Campi)

The Carthaginian Province in Africa

louya in the west, the region of the former Masaesyle Kingdom. In 193 B.C. he began raiding the rich Punic ports along the Syrtes and finally occupied the whole coast in 162 B.C.²⁰ In 174-172 B.C. he regained the whole region around Mactar back from the Carthaginians and in 153-152 B.C. was engaged in a struggle for the rich grain-producing region in the valley of the Upper Bagradas.²¹ Having united the entire of the Maghrib outside of Punic control into one kingdom, Massinissa gave considerable impetus to the control of the nomadic tribes and to the growth of urban centers from which the kingdom could be ruled. Another incentive to urban growth was the large amount of trade, with the Greeks, especially in agricultural produce. Inscriptions discovered on the island of Delos containing dedications to Massinissa and his son Gulussa by Athenian and Rhodian merchants are dramatic evidence of the close ties this commerce produced.²² It appears that these Greek merchants were primarily involved in the grain trade, as Massinissa is known to have sent a large shipment of wheat to Delos as a gift.²³ The Greek trade coming west is evidenced by the finds of Rhodian and Attic ware in the port cities along the coast and at Cirta itself.²⁴ Contemporary pottery from Campania, however, may point to the presence of Italian traders already resident in the city at this time. The trade from the east led to a marked Hellenization of Cirta: there was a resident community of Greeks and Gulussa, Massinissa's son, was trained in Greek letters.²⁵ This Greek influence continued for over a century, but seems to have taken second place to the great Punic influence on the city emanating from the Carthaginian traders operating in this region. The degree of both Hellenization and Punicization of Cirta is reflected in the discovery of large num-

ber of dedicatory inscriptions at a Punic sanctuary to Ba'al-Hammon at El-Hofra in 1950. Although there were a few Greek inscriptions, the majority (close to six-hundred) were Punic. The discover of this sanctuary places Cirta second only to Carthage itself in the amount of epigraphic evidence for the Punic domination in Africa.²⁶ Although only one mutilated Libyan inscription was found in the collection, there is reason to believe that the majority of the dedications were not by Carthaginians, but by Africans who were adopting the Punic urban style of life. At nearby Castellum Tidditanorum African burials, rather than Punic, have been found to date to the same time as the importation of Campanian and Rhodian ware.²⁷ If a center so close to Cirta, like this castellum, remained African during this period, it is an indication that the same was true of the region as a whole. Examples taken from the inscriptions of El-Hofra show the process whereby Africans who were being Punicized took on Semitic names: for example, Mzbl'ln (Punic) son of Tb'p'l (Libyan), and Magon (Punic) son of Sadolin (Libyan).²⁸

To the east of Cirta, in the territory bordering on the Carthaginian province in Africa, there were areas which, although showing great Punic influence, provide evidence of considerable urbanization under the African kingdoms. At Thugga (modern Dougga) there is large collection of dolmens surrounding the town, perhaps contemporary with its earliest development.²⁹ In his account of the invasion of Agathocles in 310 B.C. Diodorus Siculus mentions seven towns the Greek invaders encountered in their drive inland. One of these, Hippo Acra may be either Hippo Diarrhytus (modern Bizerte) or Hippo Regius (modern Bone). If

the former it was a Punic town, but if the latter, an African one under the control of the Massyle kingdom, as shown by its Latin epithet "Regius". Five other towns, though largely unidentifiable, have been located in the Kroumirie and in the forest to the north of the Medjerda.³⁰ Clearly the most important city mentioned by Diodorus in this region, however, is $\tau\tilde{\omega}\eta\alpha\iota$, usually identified with the Roman Thugga. He indicates that it was a town of considerable size, having several Numidian tribes under its control.³¹ The importance of the city in this region shows that it may have been the capital city of Ailymas, the great-grandfather of Massinissa, in the late fourth century B.C.³² The city seems to have come under Punic influence in the mid-third century B.C., since a Libyan inscription discovered near the city names Zilalsan, the grand-father of Massinissa, as sufes.³³

Further to the south a group of megalithic tombs similar to those around Thugga surround the town of Mactar on the Tunisian Dorsal.³⁴ Like other African cities at Cirta, Sicca and Thugga, Mactar is located on a high 'acropolis' position very advantageous both for defence and observation of the surrounding countryside. In addition, its site was attractive because it controlled one of the few passes through the Dorsal-el-Aoud to the Kairouan plain. During his drive against the Carthaginians in the years 174-171 B.C., Massinissa regained seventy towns in this region, which must have included the re-establishment of control over Mactar itself.³⁵ This same region is identified as Pagus Thuscae by the historian Appian, though he only records the existence of fifty towns.³⁶

Nevertheless, the sources are in agreement that there was an area of considerable urbanization in central Tunisia under African control.³⁷

Further to the south at Theveste (modern Tebessa) there is evidence for an even greater degree of urbanization under the Africans. This city had possibly offered undue resistance to Carthaginian control, or, more likely, it controlled an area of great agricultural richness that would represent a considerable gain for the Carthaginians. Therefore, in 247 B.C. the Carthaginian general Hanno led an expedition far outside Punic territory and captured the city of Theveste. As a gesture of mercy he took only three thousand captives as hostages, a number which would seem to indicate a total population in the city in the order of fifteen thousand.³⁸ Perhaps this large urban concentration was based on the cultivation of the olive, which in Roman times was the main crop in this region. However, this can only be conjectured from a chance remark of Diodorus.³⁹

The richness of this whole area including Thugga, Mactar and Theveste to the west of the Carthaginian province in Africa, and the agrarian basis of its economy is shown by the results of an earlier Punic raid in this region in 254 B.C. by the general Hamilcar. According to the account of Orosius he managed to seize over twenty thousand head of cattle, in addition to valuables amounting to one thousand talents of silver.⁴⁰ The agricultural richness of this area was also the principal reason for Massinissa's desire to regain these possessions from the Carthaginians. Either following his re-acquisition of these lands in 174-172 B.C. or earlier under Syphax the Africans had set up a number

of regional administrative centers that can be recognized by their royal epithets - such towns as Thimida Regia, Zama Regia, Bulla Regia and Hippo Regius.⁴¹ In this way the African kings were able to consolidate their hold over the towns of the region and through them over the countryside. These cities would long remember and record their African origins, even after centuries of Roman rule. As Apuleius would write of his own city Madauros: ...etsi adhuc Syphacis oppidum essemus. Quo tamen victo, ad Massinissam regem munere populi Romani concessimus.⁴²

The evidence, though once again sparse and open to various interpretations, clearly points to the development of town and city centers by the Africans in areas outside Punic control. Probably such African towns also developed before the Carthaginian advance into the interior of Tunisia. In these cases, however, there are no literary sources which antedate the Punic period, and decisive archaeological evidence is lacking. Another fact which must be emphasized is that, although certain areas under African control had become urbanized, many others remained in the control of nomadic tribesmen, such as the high plains between the Moulouya and the Hodna Mountains, the plains to the north and the south of the Aurès Range and numerous pockets inside settled areas.

Chapter Two

The Carthaginian Domination

The earliest Phoenician cities in the west were founded as trading stations. According to traditional accounts the earliest of these stations in Africa was settled in the twelfth century B.C. at Lixus. It was founded on the Moroccan coast as the 'sister-city' of Gades in Spain, in order to act as a control over the Straits of Gibraltar. Like most the fourth-century Periplus of Scylax.¹ The earliest archaeological evidence is Phoenician pottery dating to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., although Cintas believes some of it may go back to an earlier period.² According to traditional accounts, it was later in the same century that the harbor-city of Utica was founded as the main port of call on the route to the west.³ Utica remained the major Phoenician city in Africa until the founding of Carthage, some twenty-five miles to the south on the Bay of Tunis. Traditionally the founding of Carthage is dated to 814-813 B.C. An argument has been put forth for a much later date around 673-663 B.C. but it has not met with much acceptance.⁴

At this time the Phoenicians began to settle other locations on the North African coast along the route to the west. The principal route followed, however, was not along this coast but northwards past the western tip of Sicily, west to the Balearic Islands and then down the eastern seaboard of Spain to Gades. The reason for this round-about route to the west was the strong current along the North African coast flowing from west to east that made sailing westwards along the coast both difficult and time consuming.⁵ The earliest settlements along the

coast seem to date only as early as the seventh century though locations may have been used as mere rest points for centuries previous to this time. One such settlement was on the island of Rachgoun in the harbor of Siga. In an excavation at this site Vuillemot uncovered more than one-hundred tombs with an abundance of artifacts dating to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The whole character of the finds shows a strong resemblance to the Phoenician town of Motya in Sicily.⁶ About sixty kilometers to the east at Mersa Madakh there is another Phoenician settlement also dating to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.⁷ At Tipasa, just to the east of the African city of Iol, Cintas dates pottery recovered from the west necropolis to the sixth century B.C.⁸ The last settlement in Africa which can be definitely attributed to the Phoenicians, however, is not on this coast but far past the Pillars of Hercules hundreds of miles south of the nearest settlements to the north, at Mogador an island off the Moroccan coast. The station appears to have been seasonally occupied, mainly for trade; the Greek and Phoenician pottery is dated by the excavator Jodin to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.⁹

When we come to the fifth-century B.C. the focus of attention turns more on the Phoenician colony of Carthage and its role in Africa rather than the Phoenicians themselves. The main reason for this shift in emphasis was the rapid decline of the cities of Tyre and Sidon in the Phoenician homeland, both of which had been under constant pressure during the eighth century B.C. from the Assyrians. By 670 B.C. both cities had fallen to the Assyrians, and Phoenicia became an Assyrian province. With the fall of the Assyrian Empire in 612 B.C. the cities were given a brief respite, but in 573 B.C. both cities fell to the armies of Nebuchadnezzar

after a long siege and became Babylonian tributaries. Neither city recovered from this conquest, and later they passed into the Persian Empire as part of a satrapy.¹⁰ As a result the Phoenician colonies in the west after ca. 575 B.C. were left to fend for themselves against the growing power of the Greek colonists and traders, who had been emigrating to the west since the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. In addition there was the problem for these cities of protection against possible attacks from African tribes in the interior.

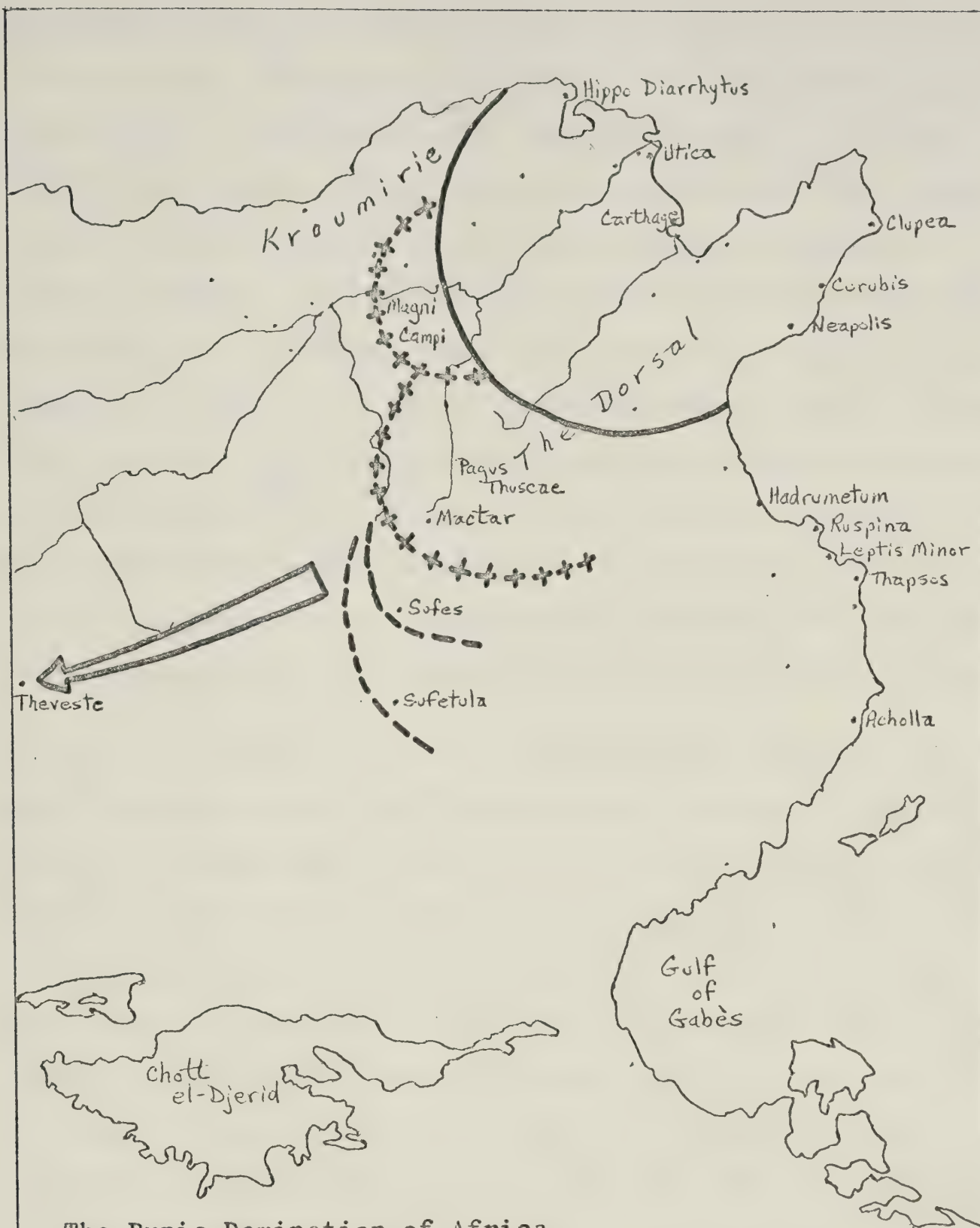
These conditions led to an internal revolution at Carthage headed by a certain Mago (ca. 550 B.C.), who is credited by Justin with laying the foundations of the Carthaginian Empire.¹¹ The Magonid Revolution brought with it a new agrarian emphasis, as well as a desire to search for new markets to improve the Carthaginian position vis-à-vis the Greeks.¹² One of Mago's sons, called Hasdrubal, undertook a war against the Africans around Carthage, to whom the Carthaginians had been making payments as 'rent' for the site of Carthage itself. The attempt, however, ended in a Carthaginian defeat.¹³ This is the earliest record of a Carthaginian interest in land expansion into Africa, and from this it is certainly possible to see African expansionism as a part of the new policies of the Magonids. About this same time the Carthaginians attempted to protect their bases in Sicily and southern France by forming an alliance with the Etruscans. Although this alliance met with an early success in the defeat of the Phocaeans in 535 B.C., it encountered a severe reverse in 480 B.C., when Mago's grandson Hamilcar was defeated and killed Gelon in the battle of Himera.¹⁴

Reverses like these led the Magonids to rely more on Africa itself as a field in which they could regain losses in trade and commerce by founding an agrarian empire in the African hinterland.¹⁵ This new phase in Punic policy was continued by Hamilcar's son Hanno, and the result of his emphasis on African development is succinctly summarized by Dio Chrysostom: "He changed the Carthaginians from Tyrians into Africans; now they made Africa their home rather than Phoenicia ...".¹⁶ Of course, there were other benefits for the Carthaginians in African expansion - the city of Carthage now had a large population requiring a secure food supply and the agricultural estates which could produce this supply were a better security for the Carthaginian aristocracy than the uncertainties of sea-commerce. Accordingly, it seems most probable that the first military advances of the Carthaginians would have been made into the fertile grain growing regions of the Medjerda River valley. The first stages of this advance can be correlated with the war undertaken by Hamilcar in the first years of the fifth century against the tribes around the city. This campaign led to the lifting of the 'rent' Carthage had been paying the Africans.¹⁷ The conquest of this area appears to have been completed by the middle of the fifth century B.C.

In conjunction with their expansion into the interior, the Carthaginians also established their hegemony over the port cities along the eastern coast of present-day Tunisia. According to legend the first Punic colony in Africa was founded at Acholla where Phoenician colonists from Malta were settled. This settlement must have been roughly contemporary with the Punic control of Hadrumetum further to the north where a characteristic Punic topheth has been excavated by Cintas dating to the

sixth and fifth centuries B.C.¹⁸ At Mahdia, near modern Sousse, evidence of Punic influence dates to the fifth century, and at Thapsos, a few miles to the north, the Punic necropolis dates to the early fourth century B.C.¹⁹ The best example of Punic urbanization dating to this period, however, is the fourth and third century settlement at Kerkouane (Dar Essafi) on the tip of the Cap Bon peninsula. In over fifteen years of excavation Cintas and Fantar have uncovered a whole town site built on a Hellenistic pattern, with regular streets and fine houses with all conveniences rivaling the finest domestic architecture of the time.²⁹ From literary sources it is also known that both Neapolis and Lepti Minus came under Punic influence in the fourth century B.C.²¹

At the same time the Carthaginians were advancing further into the interior, but the establishment of even a general chronology of their conquest is extremely difficult. Nearby Utica was still independent at the end of the sixth century but had come under Carthaginian control before the middle of the fourth century B.C.²² By 406 B.C. the Carthaginians had established enough of a bridgehead into African territory to form alliances with the African kingdoms and to require them to provide troops for the Carthaginian army.²³ This stage of Carthaginian expansion was probably aimed at the region along the Dorsal, in order to provide a southern line of defence for the river plains. The land in the great river valleys and plains continued to be farmed by Africans for wheat, but now a portion of this was paid to Carthage as a tax. The usual rate seems to have been one-quarter of the yield, though in times of national emergency the Carthaginians demanded as much as half of the total production.²⁴ Closer to Carthage, the land was devoted to the great



The Punic Domination of Africa

- The Punic Province in Africa
- + + + + New areas acquired ca. 260 B.C.
- Further areas of control (?)
- ➡ The drive to Theveste (254 B.C.)

land estates of the Carthaginian nobility farmed by Africans who had been made slaves. These estates were devoted more to viticulture and various types of arboriculture rather than wheat farming.²⁵ The urban density around Carthage appears to have been quite high from the evidence of even the earliest literary sources. In his account of Agathocles' invasion in 310 B.C., Diodorus mentions the existence of over two hundred towns (πόλεις) in this area. Later, Appian mentions the capture of two hundred towns (πόλεις) in the raid staged by Regulus in 255 B.C. and Polybius records more than twenty-five thousand prisoners captured during this same brief campaign.²⁶ How much of this urbanization of the hinterland was a result of Carthaginian contributions is questionable. If one considers the evidence for urban growth outside Carthaginian territory, this town development is just as likely to have been local African development.

By the fourth century B.C. the Carthaginian land empire in Africa had reached bounds which the Carthaginians themselves though sufficient for the time being. Directly to the west this territory did not extend far beyond Hippo Diarrhytus on the coast and Mateur inland, since the impenetrable regions of the Kroumirie were soon encountered. From here the frontier ran directly south, crossing the Medjerda probably near Thisiduo or Membressa and thence to the Dorsal, where it turned east and ran directly to the coast. Along this line the Carthaginians drew a fortified trench marking the boundary of their empire.²⁷ About 260 B.C., however, the Carthaginians began a new drive into the interior. In 254 B.C. the general Hamilcar led an expedition into African territory beyond the Punic frontiers. Not only did the raid result in a great amount of booty, but it also resulted in an extension of the Punic domain in Africa,

the expansion of the fines imperii.²⁸ The Africans in the newly conquered areas were controlled by the practice of taking their leading men as hostages and perhaps by making an effort to Punicize them.²⁹ In 247 B.C. another Carthaginian general, Hanno, led an expedition far to the south-west which resulted in the capture of Theveste.³⁰ This entire period of Punic expansion must be the time when the large tracts of land known as the Magni Campi and Pagus Thuscae were captured, both being outside the Punic fossa. The Magni Campi or 'Great Plains' were the fertile areas on the Upper Bagradas later demanded back by Massinissa, and Pagus Thuscae was a large area to the south centered around Mactar. Although a great number of towns are attested in the latter area alone, it is doubtful whether the urbanization in it was due to the Punic conquest or administration since by the terms of the Carthaginian surrender in 204 B.C. all territories and cities beyond the Fossa Punica had to be given back to the Africans.³¹ This meant that the era of Punic control lasted forty years at the most, not long enough to make a significant difference. The same applies to towns in the Magni Campi since African cities like Bulla Regia and Thugga already existed close to this region. It is even probably that Carthage had to relinquish control over the region around Theveste almost immediately since the armed revolt of over seventy thousand Africans in her armies in 241-238 B.C. posed a formidable threat to the city of Carthage itself.³²

As has been stated above, the decline of the mother cities in Phoenicia in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. left the Phoenician colonies in the west on their own. Gradually such cities turned to Carthage for protection and leadership, as seem to be the case with the cities to

the east located on the coast of the Syrtes. Many settlements along this coast were already well known to the pseudo-Scylax in the fourth century B.C.: Neapolis (Lepcis Magna), Graphara, Abrotonum (Sabratha), Tarichae (Zuchis), Epichos (Gigthis) and Macomada (Macomades).³³ Many of these cities, however, were probably Phoenician settlements dating back to the seventh century B.C. Certainly they seem to be well settled by 515 B.C., when they initially sought aid from Carthage against the Spartan king Dorieus, who was attempting to found a colony only ten miles to the east of Lepcis.³⁴ It is safe to say that Carthaginian control must have extended over this coastline by the third century B.C. to judge by the archaeological evidence of Punic influence. There is a Punic necropolis and typically Carthaginian sculpture dating to the third century which have been uncovered at Lepcis, Punic pottery and burials dating to the third and second centuries at Oea, and an enormous cemetery with Punic-style tombs and a monumental mausoleum at Sabratha also dating to the third-century B.C.³⁵ To the east along this coast the Carthaginian domination extended as far as Arae Philaenorum a few miles west of modern El Agheila. Near this eastern boundary with the Greeks, the Carthaginians established an emporium at Charax where they bartered wine for silphium, of which the Greeks of the region had a monopoly.³⁶ The main source of wealth in this Carthaginian-dominated coastal strip was trade with the tribes of the interior. This activity is reflected in the Greek name for this region -- Emporia. The cities along the coast were termini for trade which crossed the Sahara from the Sudan belt and then traversed the lands of the Garamantes in the Fezzan.³⁷ By the

second century B.C. the main Carthaginian trading city on this coast was Lepcis, and it was paying a tribute to Carthage that amounted to a talent a day.³⁸

The Carthaginians also established many settlements across the northern coast of Africa to the west of Carthage, and they continued to develop those which had already been settled by the Phoenicians. The Punic control of this coastline is reflected in the place names (retained in Roman times) which include the Semitic prefix Rus, meaning "cape" or "promontory". Such sites are Rusaddir, Rusippiscu, Rusuccuru, Rusubiccari, Rusicade, Rusazu and Rusguniae. The main reason for the increased attention given to this alternate route to the west was a combination of increased competition from the Greeks and the parallel development of a ship with a rudder-at-stern. This latter technological innovation made navigation against currents much easier and, hence, allowed for the greater use of this route.³⁹ The economic benefits which drew the Carthaginians west are well known: the silver mines in southern Spain, the murex shells and sea-weeds used for the manufacture of purple dye, and control of the tin route from Britain down the western coast of Spain.⁴⁰ Perhaps they also traded for gold coming from placer deposits in the River Senegal; at least this seems to be the implication of the famous account given by Herodotus of barter beyond the Pillars of Hercules.⁴¹ The earliest literary account of a Carthaginian attempt to dominate the west African coast is the fascinating report of the voyage of Hanno around 450 B.C.⁴² He led an expedition of sixty ships and a large number of settlers in order to colonize the regions beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. He

founded Thymiaterion some two-day's sail beyond the straits, and further along the coast he founded five more colonies - Karikon Teichos, Gytte, Akra, Melitta and Arambys. He then sailed to the island of Cerne which has alternately been identified with Herne Island off Rio del Oro or with an island in the delta of the River Senegal (called Chretes in the account).⁴³ This account clearly shows an intent on the Carthaginians part to gain permanent occupation of the coast of present-day Morocco. Since no definite archaeological remains of the sites settled by Hanno have been uncovered as yet, no positive identification of them is possible.^{43a}

Along the Mediterranean coastline to the west of Carthage the Carthaginians established numerous small ports at regular intervals of thirty miles, about the distance which a ship could sail in one day. They also developed earlier Phoenician settlements, such as the one at Tipasa where the large eastern necropolis dates to the fourth and third centuries B.C. Another large necropolis on the west side of the town is dated by imports of Greek and Campanian pottery to the second century B.C.⁴⁴ Elsewhere, however, as at Chullu, Icosium, Les Andalouses, Rusaddir, Emesa and Tangiers, the Punic occupation cannot be dated by archaeological finds to a period earlier than the third century B.C.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, large amounts of Attic pottery are found at sites all along the Algerian coast between Cherchel and Ténès, and especially at Gouraya, dating to the fifth century B.C.⁴⁶ The same is true of sites in Morocco to the west, and of sites as far east as Igilgili.⁴⁷ Villard reported the presence of Attic pottery in his excavations at Lixus and also

noted that this same fifth-century Attic ware is conspicuously absent from the archaeological remains of Carthage.⁴⁸ Although there is evidence of Punic influence spreading inland from the coastal cities, the Carthaginian impact on the interior is of a relatively late date.

The majority of the inscriptions from the sanctuary of El-Hofra near Constantine date to the second century B.C. and the Punic finds at nearby Tiddis date even later, to the first century B.C.⁴⁹ A possible conclusion which may be reached from these facts (as it has by P. Fevrier) is that the fifth century trade in the coastal cities was being carried on directly between the Africans and the Greeks.⁵⁰ This must remain a hypothesis awaiting further proof, but probability mitigates against it. Even the capital cities of the African kingdoms, centers especially dominated by African culture, had become considerably Punicized by the second century B.C.⁵¹

To sum up, it can be noted that the Carthaginian domination over the interior of Africa was limited to a small sector in the north of present-day Tunisia running from the edge of the Kroumirie south to the region around Bou Arada and then straight east to the coast. Within this area there is no evidence that the Carthaginians made any noticeable contribution to urbanization above and beyond the African development. Punic influence, however, was a dominant factor in communities beyond these boundaries, such as at Thugga to the west and Mactar to the south. Although the Carthaginians did not actually control these extra-frontier areas for any long period of time, their language, culture, religion and public institutions left an indelible mark on the African

communities in these regions. In their land expansion into the African interior the Carthaginians never encountered the first line of semi-nomadic tribes: the Misiciri and Numidae around Thubursicu Numidarum, the Musulamii around Thala and Theveste, and the Musuni and Capsitani around Capsa and Thysdrus. These tribes were located in regions which were part of the African kingdoms; the Carthaginians probably occupied no more of Africa inland from Carthage than had already been settled by sedentary African populations. They did not have to deal with the problem of controlling nomadic movements and containing them in order to put fertile land to their own use. The main Punic contribution to the urbanization of Africa was in the urban development of the port cities, specifically those dotting the coastline of the Sahel. The initial impetus behind Punic urban foundations and growth was a commercial one related to the need for ports as centers of maritime trade. Wherever this motive was present the Carthaginian presence and influence was strongest and most enduring.

Chapter Three

The Advent of the Romans: From the Conquest to the Julio-Claudians

When Scipio Aemilianus brought about the final defeat at Carthage in 146 B.C., the Roman Senate dispatched ten of its own body to supervise the establishment of the new province of Africa. The city of Carthage was to be systematically levelled and barred to settlement; the cities which had fought as allies of Carthage were also to be destroyed.¹ Strabo names four of these -- Nepheris, Tunis, Neapolis and Clupea (Aspis), all razed at the same time as Carthage.² A special arrangement was made with the rest of the cities who had allied themselves with Rome during the war. The arch-rival of Carthage, Utica, received the largest settlement - all of the land from Carthage to Hippo Diarrhytus.³ The rest of the cities, including Hadrumentum, Thapsus, Lepti Minus, Acholla, Uzalis and Theudalis were granted the status of civitates liberae et immunes.⁴

The decemviri of the founding commission used the fortified ditch known as the Fossa Regia to delineate the frontier of the Roman province from the lands held by the African kings. It is clear from the markers left by the Flavian re-survey that this line was close to, if not identical with the old Punic fossa.⁵ The province was to be governed by a praetor sent out annually from Rome whose headquarters was located at Utica, which now became the chief city in Africa.⁶ The inland towns, as civitates, were allowed to retain their own forms of government, and, for the most part, the land was left in the hands of African tenants, who as stipendiarii were now required to pay provincial taxes. But the African

provincials were probably the recipients to two immediate benefits of Roman rule. First, the taxes were probably less than the onerous ones demanded by Carthage, and secondly, many of their former Carthaginian masters seem to have fled their towns and estates to become refugees beyond the Fossa Regia in African towns such as Althiburos, Mactar and Thagora.⁷

It can be clearly seen, therefore, that Rome had essentially taken over the inland regions formerly under the control of Carthage, but governed them much as they had been before. They had destroyed the city of Carthage and in lieu of control by that city had intervened to administer its former territory themselves. The rest of the Punic cities on the coast, however, had been freed; Rome had taken over the former duties of Carthage but had left the rest of the cities on their own, as before, and at this point showed no interest at all in Punic settlements on the Syrtes or along the coast of Mauretania. Rome therefore had attacked the city state of Carthage alone, and having destroyed the urban center, then annexed the rural territorium attached to the city. The other cities in Africa were treated as individual cases, either as allies or enemies. The settlement in Africa does not find parallels in the creation of the provinces in Sicily or the Spains, since, in reality, it is only one city and its land which are being affected.

Nothing of relevance to the urbanization of Africa is known for the next twenty-three years. When attention is once again focused on this part of the world it is precisely the city-site of Carthage which is involved. By the terms of the lex Rubria of 123 B.C., C. Gracchus was allowed to found colonia Iunonia Carthago, for which he sought six thousand colonists from all of Italy.⁸ Triumviri agris iudicandis assignandis were appointed by Gracchus to carry out the cadastration of the land, two hundred iugera to each colonist.⁹ Although the Senate reversed and ended the scheme by the terms of the lex Minucia of 121 B.C., a large number of the intended colonists seem to have arrived in Africa, possibly even more than the six thousand designated.¹⁰ For the next decade nothing further is known of settlement in Africa, until the passing of the Lex Agraria in 111 B.C.¹¹ The purpose of the law seems to have been primarily to raise money by selling land in Africa, but at the same time to avoid the alienation of the stipendiarii by not taking away their land without compensation. Sometime after the fall of Carthage the Senate had ordered the great agricultural treatise of the Carthaginian Mago to be translated. Since it dealt specifically with North African conditions, were they thinking of it as a sort of handbook for prospective individual settlers who would purchase lands there? All that can be inferred from the terms of the Lex Agraria is that some land had been purchased before 111 B.C., although this could have been large estates acquired by absentee landlords.¹² Again, other sections of the law inform us that lands had already been let out to possessores in 115 and 113 B.C. by the censors. These land-holders, however, were not necessarily either Roman or Italian.¹³

On the other hand, the presence of Italian businessmen in Africa, outside the Roman province may be inferred from the large amounts of Campanian pottery in numerous North African cities around the turn of the third and second centuries B.C.¹⁴ Their presence during the Jugurthine War (111-105 B.C.) is attested by Sallust, who mentions the Italian negotiatores of Vaga, and the large Italian community in residence at Cirta.¹⁵ These Italian traders, however, were no new element in Africa - Appian mentions them as forming a sizeable community in Carthage at the end of the Second Punic War.¹⁶ In addition to the Italians, there were also Greek communities in these cities - as the Greek names often encountered in the towns of the Upper Bagradas valley show.¹⁷ Such settlements not only demonstrate that commerce was sufficiently developed in these town centers to merit their attention, but that these centers in turn, being populated by immigrants from urbanized communities, would be influenced in their urban development.

Following the victory of Marius over Jugurtha in 105 B.C., a further Italian influence was felt in the towns of the Upper Bagradas, since Marius settled large numbers of his veterans in this areas west of the Fossa Regia, giving viritum land allotments of one hundred iugera to each. This Marian program was carried out by the tribune of the plebs, L. Appuleius Saturnius - if we are to believe the late fourth-century writer of the De viris illustribus:

L. Appuleius Saturninus, ut gratiam Marianorum militum pararet legem tulit, ut veteranis centena agri iugera in Africa dividerentur.¹⁸

No doubt, Marius realized the richness of the land and the strategic value of the area which controlled the plains of Souk-el-Arba and Souk-el-Khemis, as well as the east-west communications with the hinterland of Algeria. At Thuburnica, a recently discovered inscription refers to Marius as the conditor coloniae.^{18a} Although this title does not actually mean that the city became a colonia under him, it does, refer to him as the founder of the settlement of Roman veterans in the town. Uchi Maius, when it became a colony under Alexander Severus, included the epithet Mariana in its title, as did Thibarais some six miles to the north.¹⁹ There are large numbers of Mariani found throughout this whole area, at Thugga, Aubuzza, Mustis and Sicca Veneria.²⁰ Not only was Marius interested in this hinterland, but also in the coastal region of the Sahel where one of his supporters, Caesar's father, led a group of colonists to the island of Cercina:

[C. Iu]lius [C. f. Caesar p]ater d[ivi Iuli proc., p]r., q.,
tr. [mil., X vir c]olonos Cerce[nam deduxit?].²¹

It is no accident, then, that Marius fled to this very island in his escape from Italy in 88 B.C.²²

The next source of settlement in Africa leaves a gap of at least forty years, during which the amount of immigration from abroad is unknown. A list which Pliny records in his Historia Naturalis, dating to 46 B.C. records a large number of cities in Africa outside Roman jurisdiction, that contain communities of Roman citizens - conventus civium Romanorum.²³ The list of cities reveals a high concentration of cities directly to the west of the provincial boundary in the valleys of the Up-

per Medjerda, Oued Milana and Oued Siliana. A number of the sites mentioned by Pliny: Thuburnica, Uchi Maius and Uchi Minus, were sites of Marian colonization. A few, like Vaga, are already known as centers of Italian negotiatores. Many others, and especially those furthest to the west (Thinidruo, Thunusida, Assuras and Thibica) were probably the result of settlement subsequent to Marius - perhaps occasioned by the movement of large rural colonial populations into nearby town centers.

It is important to note that all Roman and Italian settlement in Africa up to this time was unofficial: the Gracchan scheme for Carthage had been made void, the Marian settlements were outside the province altogether and the influx of merchants and traders was purely a private matter. Following the victory of Caesar over the Pompeian faction in Africa led by Scipio and Juba I at the battle of Thapsus (April 6, 46 B.C.), Roman cities with the official status of coloniae make their first appearance in Africa. Caesar can be credited with the foundation of four colonies in Africa, the cities of Clupea, Curubis, Neapolis and Carpis.²⁴ All of these cities are situated on the eastern seaboard of the Cap Bon Peninsula. There is no evidence that any of these cities received foreign colonists, or veterans. Caesar's freedmen and governors immediately turned their attention to building in these towns: L. Pomponius Malchio supervised the construction of new stone walls around the whole town of Curubis, and D. Laelius Balbus undertook the construction of city baths in Carpis.²⁵ There is, however, evidence of the settlement of Caesarean veterans at inland sites. For example, a meiles (sic)

leg. V. is found at Thuburnica, as well as two others from nearby areas from legio VIII - perhaps from the vexillationes.²⁶ There are also, large numbers of Iulii both at Mustis and Thunusida enrolled in Caesar's tribe, the Cornelia, who were probably descendants of those to whom Caesar had awarded viritim grants of citizenship.²⁷ Another freedman, M. Caelius Phileros, was ordered to establish boundaries between the (new?) colonists and the city of Uchi Maius.²⁸

Caesar's major project in Africa was the re-establishment of Carthage by re-activating the Gracchan plan of a large scale settlement. But, although formally established as a colony by him, the actual settlement was delayed by his assassination in 44 B.C. and was not carried out until later under Augustus.²⁹ The last major contribution made by Caesar was his formation of the buffer state of Cirta. This consisted of the entire Constantine plain - formerly governed as a unit under the African kings, including the capital city of Cirta and the outlying guardian town Milev, the two port cities of Chullu and Rusicade, plus numerous castella in the plains themselves. Caesar gave this entire region as a territory to be administered as a quasi-autonomous state to a Campanian soldier, Publius Sittius, who had held this part of the front during the Civil War in Africa. At the end of the war, Sittius settled veterans from his private army of Italian immigrants, Spanish and Mauretanian mercenaries, in "colonies" in the cities mentioned above.³⁰ The great number of Sittiani later found through this whole region attest the extent of this colonization.³¹ It is doubtful, that these mercenaries

(the Italians excluded) made any great contribution to the urbanization of these towns that had already existed for two centuries under African rule. The Italian element however, was important and may have led to the initial Romanization of the area.³² Caesar also apparently thought the area of the Upper Bagradas now sufficiently important and settled to bring the whole area directly under Roman control by the formation of the province of Africa Nova. Sallust (the historian) was appointed governor and was left in charge of three legions.

Caesar, therefore, was the heir to two Roman settlement schemes in Africa - the Gracchan plans for large scale settlements of Italian immigrants in the cities and the Marian settlement of veterans in rural areas. While he actually accomplished the latter, the former approach had to await successful completion under his heir, Augustus.³³ Certainly Caesar was not ignorant of the value of Africa. Even during the Civil Wars, in 39 B.C., Sextus Pompeius, based in Sicily, was able to disrupt the shipping lanes to Rome, and, as a consequence, grain was not able to get to Rome. The city was hit by a famine, and the price of grain reached inflationary levels.³⁴ By bringing the fertile lands of the Upper Bagradas within the frontiers of the new province of Africa Nova, Caesar planned to increase the grain tribute to Rome by 1,200,000 modii alone.³⁵ In addition he imposed an annual tribute of 3,000,000 pounds of oil on the city of Lepcis Magna.³⁶ Business, too, would play its part, for the traders and merchants in Africa were reaping enormous profits. During the Civil War in Africa Caesar had fined the local governments at Thapsus and Hadrumetum only two and three million sesterces each, but

the organizations of Roman businessmen in these cities was fined three and five million sesterces each.³⁷ A much better example of the wealth accumulated by these provincial entrepreneurs, however, is the fine levied on the three hundred who formed the citizen conventus at Utica. Although Caesar imposed an incredibly large fine of 200,000,000 sesterces on them, "they accepted this without demur and thanked him, declaring that this day marked the start of life for them".³⁸

The first major act of urbanization undertaken by Augustus following his unification of the two African provinces into the single province of Africa Proconsularis, under the governor T. Statilius Taurus in 36. B.C., was the deductio of colonists to the former site of Carthage. This was the practical fulfilment of Caesar's plan and apparently that of the Gracchi; for not only were three thousand colonists dispatched from Rome, but an additional number of rural settlers were sent, presumably to make up a total of six thousand.³⁹ Carthage was thus restored as the natural geographic and economic center of Africa and as the political capital of the province.⁴⁰

Under Caesar, the land in Africa to the west of the Cirtan Federation as far as the Moulouya had been given to Bocchus the Second, while the African king Bogud was left in control of the land between the Moulouya and the Atlantic Ocean. Later Bogud, having taken the side of Anthony in the Civil War, lost his territories to Bocchus II, who remained a loyal client-king to Augustus. This arrangement came to an end in 33 B.C. with the death of Bocchus. It is probably in the following years

that Augustus, wishing to secure the coast line of Mauretania, settled colonies at strategic points on the sea-route to the West.^{40a} This settlement was aided by the fact that, following Actium in 31 B.C., there were large numbers of troops who needed to be re-settled as civilians on the land. From the east, the first settlement encountered is Igilgili; though no settlement of veterans is directly attested, the site is backed up against the Kabyle Range - a normal stronghold of unrest. This site, like many others along this coast, is marked by a harbour but no opportunity for expansion inland, so that their prime value is for protection of the coast against pirates, while the harbor itself needs protection from raids directly out of the surrounding mountains.⁴¹ Saldae, the next Point along the coast received colonists from the seventh legion. This community - like others which follow - because of its smallness and lack of land resources was made immunis, that is exempt from taxation.⁴² About five miles inland (for from Saldae there is a little break in the Kabyle Range) the town of Tubusuctu became a colony, also receiving veterans of the seventh legion and a grant of immunitas.⁴³ Rusazus, about ten miles west of Saldae on the coast was another colonia with immunitas and was also settled by veterans of the seventh legion.⁴⁴ The next settlement on this coast that was made a colony was Rusguniae (modern Cap Matifou), settled by veterans of the ninth legion.⁴⁵ Two inland colonies were established at Aquae Calidae and Zucchbar, although there is no evidence that these were veteran settlements.⁴⁶ There was a further military colony at Gunugu and the settlement furthest west along this coast at Cartenna (modern Tenes) was made up by veterans of the second legion,

that is, probably of the second Augusta legion stationed across the Alboran Sea in Spain in 30 B.C.⁴⁷ At this point and further west at Portus Magnus it was possible to penetrate into the interior by way of the Chelif River valley. The colonists on the coast were certainly aware of the rich hinterland as is shown by a vivid, almost poetic inscription from Cartenna speaking of the garden-like valleys and plains inland from the sea.⁴⁸

Augustus also probably created a veteran colony at Banasa in the interior of present-day Morocco, though in this case a special arrangement was made with the African king (Bocchus II?) for it to be exempt from his rule and taxes.⁴⁹ Banasa, however, appears to be unique among the cities of western Mauretania. Augustus carried on Caesar's policy of placing veterans at inland sites in Proconsularis where soldiers of the fourteenth legion formed colonies at Thuburnica and Uthina.⁵⁰ Not only were the veterans settling in towns but also on parcels of land around them such as at Pagus Fortunalis near Uthina where there were men in Severan times,

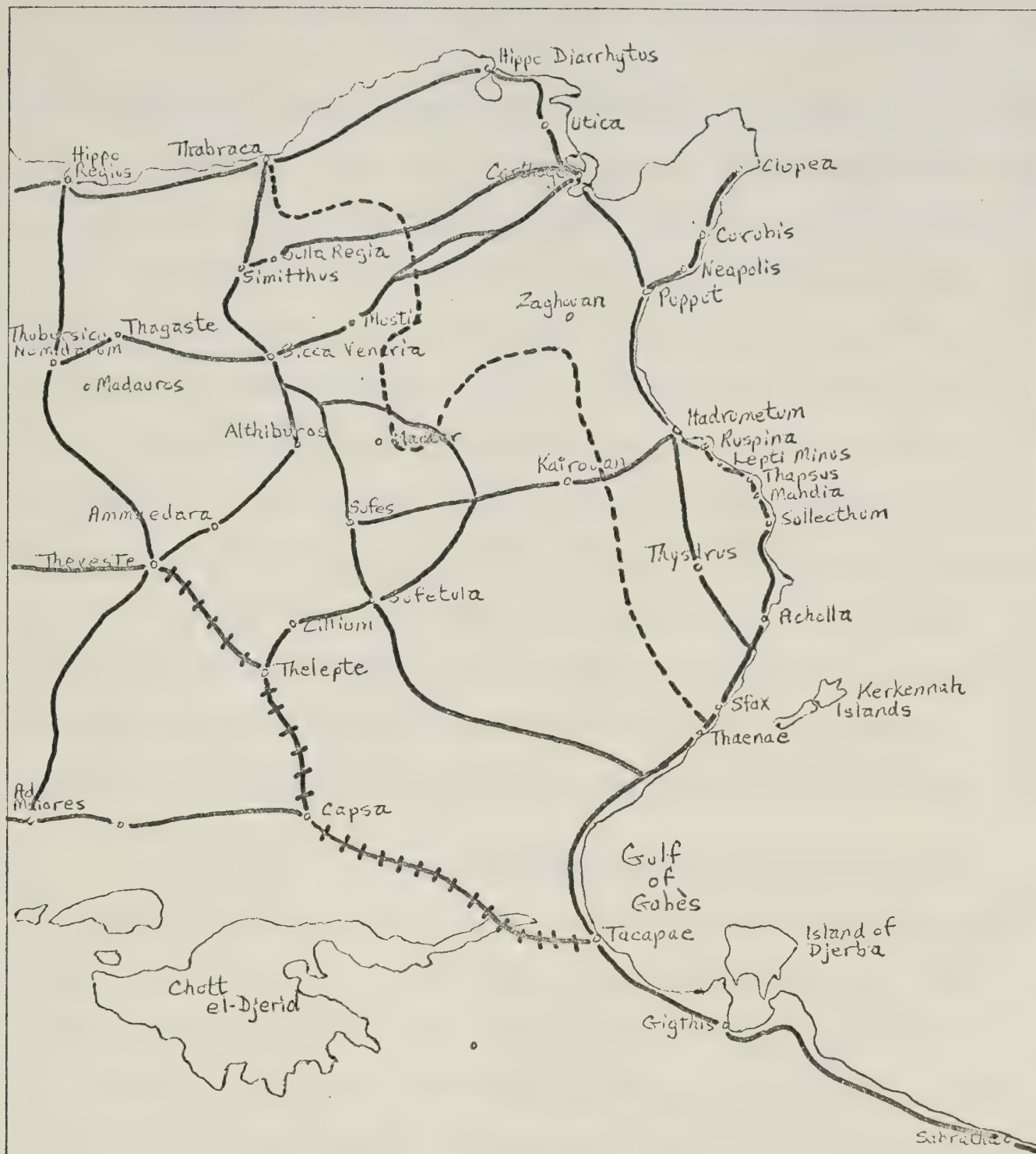
...quorum parentes beneficio divi Augusti...Sutunurca agros
acceperunt...⁵¹

The same is probably true of Pagus Mercurialis to the west of Uthina.⁵²

Two facts can be deduced about these Augustan settlements in Africa: first the veteran colonies along the Mauretanian coast, although small, must have had a decided effect on their urbanization. Since these settlements really meant little more than an occupation of former small-sized Punic posts, the opportunity was given for Roman city development to gain a real foothold. The towns along the coast, however, were isolated

from the interior by a wall of mountains rising directly behind them, so that inland expansion, even if contemplated, could have hardly been achieved from these bases. Secondly, the inland settlements did add to Marian and Caesarean colonization but did not advance urbanization beyond the old Punic frontiers. The status of the Mauretanian colonies was made clear by the re-establishment of an African kingdom by Augustus. The son of Juba I was then resident in Rome, having been captured by Caesar at Zama and shown off in his triumph in Rome. He had subsequently been kept in custody and converted to Roman ways of thinking. Now in 25 B.C. Augustus made him Juba II and handed over to him the former kingdom of Bocchus, thus creating a reliable client-kingdom to the west of the Roman province in Africa.

In Augustus' reign there are the first signs that the Romans are advancing beyond the territories where sedentary African populations are located, beyond the area of former Punic control. This brought them into direct conflict with the nomadic tribes, who were bitterly opposed to the agrarian settlements that the Romans brought with them. Such settlements meant an end to their transhumance patterns of herding and the loss of their tribal lands to foreign settlers. The first line of nomadic tribes facing the Roman advance were the Misiciri and Iontii in the highlands of the Kabyle, who were relatively safe because of the inhospitable nature of the land they occupied; the Numidae, centered around Thubursicu Numidarum, who were being pressured by the Cirtan Federation to the west and the advancing Romanized settlements from the east which



AFRICA PROCONSULARIS

- Provincial Roads
- Probable Trace of the Fossa Regia
- + + + + + Line of the Augustan Frontier

had now reached a line extending from Thunusida to Assuras; the Musulamii around Theveste and Thala, and finally a group of tribes belonging to the same Gaetulian group - the Musuni, Capsitani and Maxyes, all strung out to the south and east of Theveste - as far as Chott-el-Djerid in the south and the inland of the Sahel around Thysdrus to the east.⁵³ The governor of the newly formed province of Proconsularis, T. Statilius Taurus, almost immediately became involved with these tribes (perhaps the Numidae or the Musulamii) and celebrated a triumph on June 30, 34 B.C. It must be kept in mind that the governor, perhaps now and certainly after 27 B.C. (when Augustus turned the province over to Senatorial control) had only one legion, the III Augusta which was stationed at Ammaedara well into Musulamian territory. L. Sempronius Atratinus celebrated a triumph in 22 B.C., perhaps for action in the same area.

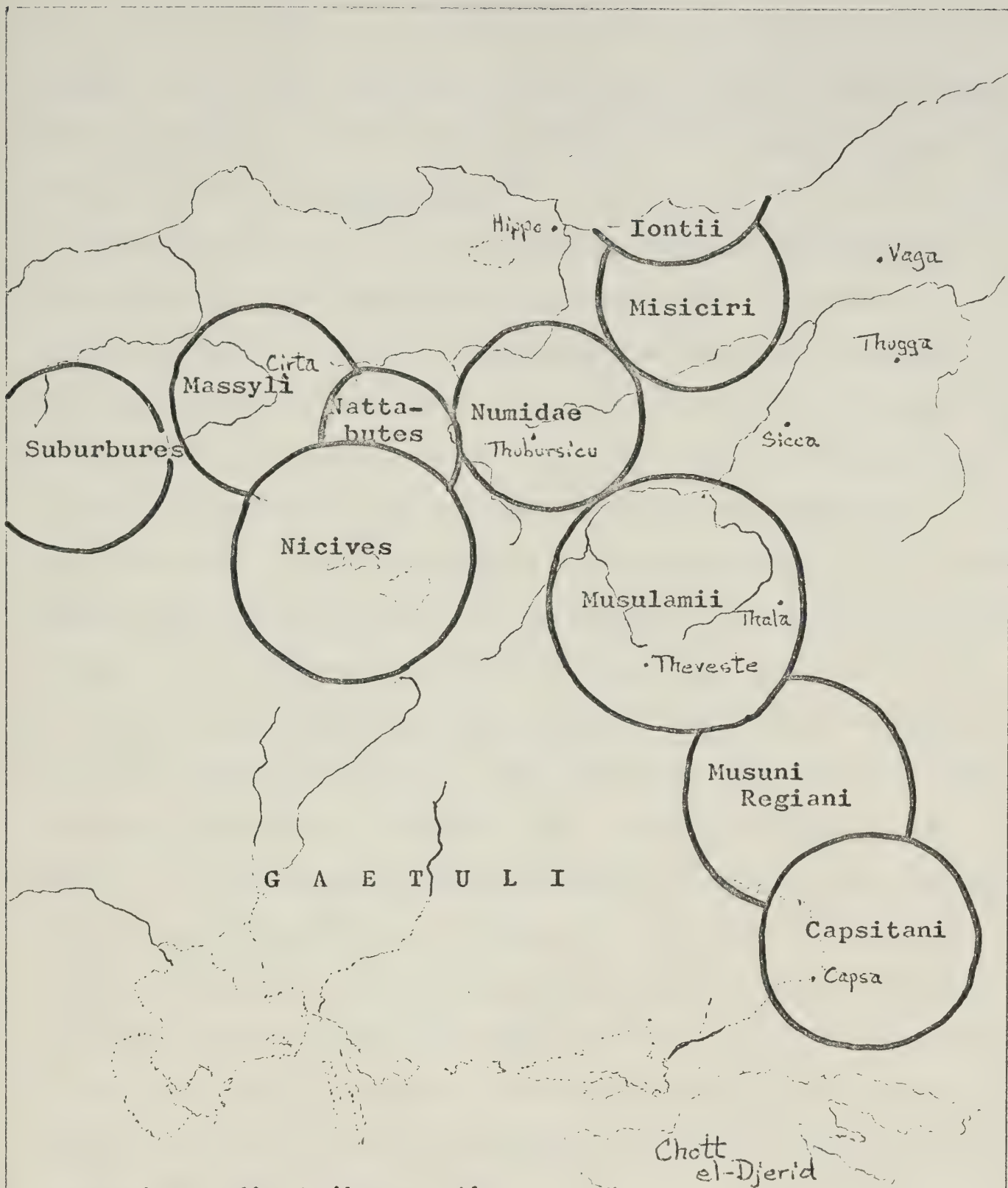
Not only were the Romans expanding to the south and west of the Tunisian Dorsal, they also do not seem to have been content to hold simply the cities of the coastal strip between the two Syrtes. This brought them into contact with the Marmaridae to the south of Cyrene, the Nasamones to the east of the Greater Syrtis, and the Makae along the coast of the Greater Syrtis, the Garamantes with their kingdom in the Fezzan to the south of Lepcis, centered on their capital city Garama, and the Phazanii further to the west around Cydamus. On March 27, 19 B.C., Cornelius Balbus celebrated a triumph that resulted from a whole season of campaigning against these desert tribes. His march had covered nearly two thousand miles. He had driven inland from Lepcis to the heart of Garamantian territory and stormed their capital city of Garama (modern Germa), turned westwards to Ghadames (modern Cydamus) and then withdrew

back to the coast.⁵⁴ Passienus Rufus celebrated a triumph around 1 A.D. for action in Africa, and about this same time Sulpicius Quirinius received a special command against the Garamantes and a tribe in Cyrenaica, the Marmarides.⁵⁵ This was followed by a second special command in this area, this time to L. Cornelius Lentulus, but his expedition was brought to a halt by the Nasamones, who killed him and a large number of his force.⁵⁶ This seems to have put an end to the Roman operations in the interior of the Syrtes for some time. Nevertheless, the Romans were intent on claiming the area to the south beyond the Fossa Regia, and so a road marking the new provincial frontier was driven from Tacape on the Gulf of Gabes, the winter quarters of the III Augusta legion, to Theveste in the interior. This road was being completed in the year of Augustus' death in A.D. 14, and, soon after, another road was constructed from Lepcis Magna along the coast of the Lesser Syrtis.⁵⁷

Meanwhile, Juba II had established his court at Iol, which he renamed Caesarea in honor of Augustus.⁵⁸ The city probably assumed a definite Hellenistic form: a Roman theater was built, the court had its resident Greek tragedian, and Juba himself became a literary figure of some note.⁵⁹ On Juba's death in A.D. 23, his son Ptolemy, who had been co-regent since A.D. 21, ascended to the throne. Neither one of these Hellenistic-style kings seem to have been completely accepted as legitimate rulers by all the African tribes, and the land under their control was plagued by constant revolt -- first in 20 B.C., then again, a general uprising in A.D. 6.⁶⁰ The reason for these revolts is not difficult to discover. The new boundary-road which the Romans cut inland

from Tacape drove right through the tribal lands of the Auses, Capsitani, Musuni and Musulamii. It also meant that the African city of Theveste, at the terminus of the road had to be occupied. Further, the Romans not only were determined to settle land behind this frontier, but also kept a military zone of surveillance between the road and a line running north and south along the western branch of the Amsaga River.⁶¹ During the last years of the reign of Augustus (12-15 A.D.) the governor L. Nonius Asprenas was serving a specially extended term of office.⁶² The reason for this must have been connected with schemes for the pacification of the whole area between the Dorsal and the Theveste-Tacape line. Certainly there is a whole new system of surveying around Hadrumetum, narrowing near the coast at Mahdia, then including the entire area east of Thysdrus between Ras Salakta and Sfax. This centuriation is entirely different from that to the north, which was limited to the former area of Punic domination within the Fossa Regia.⁶³ This new phase of expansion involved primarily a disruption of the Musulamii around Theveste and the nomadic Gaetulian tribes towards the south-east.

It is not surprising that early in Tiberius reign, in the governorship of M. Furius Camillus (17-18 A.D.) there were the first outbreaks of a widespread revolt of the Musulamii. This uprising was led by a Numidian called Tacfarinas who had earlier served as an auxiliary in the Roman army. He found allies in the Mauri and their chief Mazippa in the far west, and also in the Cinithii who according to the geographer Ptolemy, were located close to the lesser Syrtis.⁶⁴ This confederation of tribes was able to carry on a successful guerilla war against one Roman commander after



Semi-Nomadic tribes on the
frontiers of Africa Proconsularis
(based on Camps, Massinissa, fig. 27)

another for the next five years. Finally, in 21 A.D., the Senate agreed to allow Tiberius to choose the man who would fill the governorship of Africa, a choice made extra sortem.⁶⁵ His choice was one of his own men, Q. Iunius Balesus, the uncle of the notorious Sejanus. The IX Hispana was transferred from Pannonia to Lepcis Magna, under the command of Cornelius Lentulus to watch the Garamantes, who were providing a base of operations for Tacfarinas' forces in the east.⁶⁸ Balesus then deployed troops far to the west around Cirta, under the command of his son, while he himself remained with the main body of the legion at Ammaedara. A system of fortifications was built to restrict the movements of the nomadic tribes, and small detachments under the command of centurions were placed in positions in front of the line of fortifications. Contrary to usual practice, none of these advance posts were withdrawn during the winter season but remained permanent.⁶⁷ This tactic was apparently successful because in the next year Tacfarinas chose to move west and north and attack Thubursicu Numidarum rather than make an attempt to cross the new line of surveillance.⁶⁸ He was repulsed from this city and retreated to a place called Auzea, where he was surrounded by four columns of troops under the command of picked Mauretanian officers, who had been appointed by the new governor P. Cornelius Dolabella.⁶⁹ This time there was no escape, and with his death the first great revolt of the nomadic tribes against Rome came to an end.

The main reason for the revolt had been the Roman decision to enclose a large area, which had hitherto been the preserve of the nomadic tribes - around Thubursicu Numidarum and south in areas inland from the Gulf of Gabes. It also meant the occupation and possible expropriation

of the settled lands around Theveste belonging to the Musulamii. While successfully waging the war, Tacfarinas had dispatched envoys to Tiberius requesting a settlement regarding the lands in question. According to Tacitus, these demands for the return of African lands were treated summarily by an angry Tiberius, who regarded Tacfarinas as little less than a slave, deserter and pirate.⁷⁰ Despite Tacitus' prejudice against Tiberius, this is probably true. The defeat of the African revolt now enabled the Romans to claim the land for permanent settlement by themselves. It was a relatively easy task in lands which were formerly the preserve of nomads, since there was no extensive permanent occupation to be an obstacle. But in lands where at least semi-permanent settlement had been effected by the Africans, this meant forced expropriation of the land. The task was undertaken by the governor C. Vibius Marsus (27-30 A.D.). He strengthened communications between Carthage and Hippo Regius and thence to Thubursicu Numidarum directly to the south.⁷¹ There are numerous cippi dating to his governorship which indicate a great centuriation of southern Tunisia, to the west of Tacape and to the north and south of Chott Fedjedj.⁷² These areas were now open to settlement and urbanization. The Musulamian region was being settled, and as the prime center of the revolt it required strict measures. Dolabella, at the end of the war, had executed six of the leading chieftains in A.D. 24. The tribes in this area were then controlled by having praefecti set over them for administrative purposes. One of them was the grandfather of Pliny the Younger's wife, L. Calpurnius Febatus of Comum:

[pr]aef. cohortis VII Lusitan. [et] nation.
Gaetulicar. sex quae sunt in Numidia.⁷³

Following the defeat of Tacfarinas, the Garamantes sent ambassadors to Rome to arrange peace terms.⁷⁴ This meant that the coastal cities of Tripolitania could once again advance in urban development. The governor C. Rubellius Blandus (35-36 A.D) supervised the restoration of surrounding rural territories to Lepcis; his legate, M. Etrilius Lepercus, paved the streets of the city while local Punic nobles like Annabal Rufus undertook extensive construction in the old Forum and built the great theatre.⁷⁵ By the reign of Tiberius the process of Romanization was beginning to affect African towns previously on the fringe of Punic influence such as Thugga where a temple to the emperor was built during his reign.⁷⁶ Towns to which the Punic refugees had fled after the collapse of Carthage in 146 B.C., however, like Mactar to the south, remained strongholds of neo-Punic influence and did not become Romanized in their urban patterns during this period.⁷⁷ Nearby African towns, however, such as the castellum of Mograwa near Mactar do give indications that Roman influence was having an effect: it is at this town that an important dedication to Romae et Imp(eratori) Tiberio Caesari Augusto is found.⁷⁸

Tiberius' successor Caligula placed the III Augusta legion at Ammaedara in the hands of a legate (legatus Augusti propraetore legionis) who was to be a direct appointee of the emperor. This signaled the beginning of direct imperial control of the whole area to the west of the province.⁷⁹ Caligula's major step towards greater Roman control in Africa was his bid to annex the kingdom of Mauretania. He did this simply by procuring the assassination of King Ptolemy at Rome. Since Ptolemy was

MAURETANIA TINGITANA



a client-king and died without heirs, the kingdom fell to the possession of the Roman emperor.⁸⁰ Almost immediately there was a palace revolt led by Aedemon, a former freedman at Ptolemy's court.⁸¹ The real reason for the subsequent uprising of the Mauretanian tribesmen, however, must have been a fear on the part of the nomades that they were about to suffer the same fate which had befallen the Musulamii and Gaetulian tribes in the east.^{81a}

Although Claudius celebrated a triumph in A.D. 42, the revolt, now spread to the far west around Volubilis and Banasa. In the west forces were placed under the command of Cn. Hosidius Geta and C. Suetonius Paulinus, who drove their forces over the Atlas to the edge of the Moulouya, the frontier between present-day Morocco and Algeria.⁸² In the east, Claudius appointed L. Sulpicius Galba to a special two-year terms as governor to deal with the war - a mission which he is said to have carried out ruthlessly. He was apparently successful in stemming the advance of the enemy, as he returned to Rome to receive triumphal decorations and numerous other rewards.⁸³ Perhaps the establishment of Castra Galba in Numidia dates to this period, though this is not certain. It is unlikely that the war led to the opening up of any further frontiers for urbanization - its main purpose being to defend existing settlements along the coast and in the interior of Morocco. As can be seen in the case of Volubilis this was not done without some cost, even considerable damage to existing urban centers. Claudius, therefore, mainly took care of the recovery of these towns without establishing new ones.⁸⁴ The one exception was at Oppidum Novum, where he planted a settlement of veterans. This site was directly

inland from the capital city Caesarea and dominated a strategic part of the Chelif River valley. The whole length of the valley and parallel areas to the east and west do not appear to have been urbanized under Claudius. The difficulty of maintaining communications across the Moulouya led Claudius to take the logical step of dividing the former kingdom into two provinces: the eastern province was called Caesariensis after its capital Caesarea, and the western province was called Tingitana after its capital Tingi, the division and formation of the two new provinces probably occurring in A.D. 43.⁸⁵ The formation of the provinces did little to affect the growth of cities - Caesariensis remained a strip of land along the coast between the coastal mountains and the sea. Tingitana was consolidate, but the frontiers were not extended.

The period from the end of the reign of Claudius until the advent of the Flavians was marked by the growth of urban centers behind the existing frontiers. Principally this meant the re-organisation of the agrarian economy. The newly centuriated lands around Thysdrus and around Chott Fedjedj were being turned over to olive growing, a crop which yielded much higher returns than the earlier wheat crops grown previously in the lands around Acholla. The whole area between Kairouan in the north and Sfax and Capsa in the south has an average rainfall of 200-300 mm. per annum whereas the area to the south of this, inland from the Gulf of Gabes has only 100-200 mm. per annum - not quite enough for wheat but suitable for olives. This new development of olive culture was now made possible by the systematic elimination of nomadic raiders. It takes at least ten years to grow olive trees that will produce crops and even longer for them to come to full production. Stable conditions,

with the indigenous populations well controlled by armed force, are necessary in order to encourage the long term investment by foreign capital in large-scale olive plantations.

To the north of a line drawn from Kairouan to Tebessa, however, the climate is ideally suited for wheat production. Both under Claudius and Nero the potential of this grain growing region was increased to its fullest. In Claudius' reign, a scarcity of grain had led to a serious situation at Rome, where an angry mob pelted the emperor with stale bread crusts. Claudius then undertook several measures to insure the steady delivery of grain even through the winter season. He insured ships carrying grain against loss, exempted shipowners from certain duties and built a new import harbor at Ostia.⁸⁶ Shipowners could take advantage of the shorter run to Africa as opposed to Alexandria, at least to double their profits. In addition Africa was a much closer and safer source of supply - all the more reason for the emperors to develop its potential. Nero, who was engaged in a struggle with the Roman aristocracy, seems to have planned a vast increase of the number of people on the grain dole at Rome. It is plausible to connect this with his execution of six owners of latifundia in Africa who, according to Pliny the Elder, possessed nearly half of the land in the area of the old province of Africa.⁸⁷ Nero also confiscated territory in the Upper Bagradas valley and at Calama, where the emperor Claudius had already possessed an estate.⁸⁸ These lands were then organized into huge imperial estates directed by the imperial civil service, through a whole bureau of procurators. The farms were run as huge corporate enterprises, leased out to firms or individuals called conductores, who acquired the right to

operate such an estate for a period of five years by offering a sum of money for the contract.⁸⁹ The lands on the estate were rented by farm laborers or coloni. These coloni by this time were also occupying pieces of uncenturiated land on the estates called subseciva, on which they planted crops for their own use. Estates were thus having every available piece of fertile land put to use. It is known that this process was probably beginning under Nero from a law passed by T. Curtius Mancina, the Lex Manciana, which specifically concerned the treatment of coloni on these estates and their rights to occupy subseciva.⁹⁰ The plots of the coloni on the estates in the Bagradas valley region are only a tenth the size of those needed for different types of production to the south in the Sahel.⁹¹ As a result the density of population in this area became much greater than any other area in Africa, the towns themselves never being more than ten kilometers away from another major center; villages even grew up in the interior of the great agricultural estates.⁹² The result of this agricultural "revolution" was that Africa now provided two-thirds of the entire grain needs of Rome, thus appropriating the position Egypt had once held under the early Empire.⁹³

The Civil War which followed the death of Nero does not seem to have had any drastic effect on the economy of Africa. Politically, however, despite the adherence of the more Romanized area, Proconsularis, to Rome, the regions to the west showed strong separatist tendencies. Cladius Macer, the legate of Numidia, preferring not to follow Galba, attempted to set up his own state - even going so far as to issue his own coinage.⁹⁴ He soon fell victim to the attack of an assassin. Galba then

handed over both Mauretaniae to Luceius Albinus in a special dual command. Tacitus reports that this man, with a large military force at his command, also thought of setting up a separate kingdom, which was to include Baetica, and that he was going to crown himself Juba III. Shortly afterwards, however, he was assassinated by Vitellian supporters.⁹⁵

To sum up: the Roman occupation of Africa after 146 B.C. was first limited to the former land empire of Carthage. In order to expand from this territory, Rome was compelled to pursue a policy of controlling and settling the semi-nomadic populations to the south and the west. Urbanization was, therefore, a means of political control, which, in the absence of a strong military force, was vital to the success of the Roman program. Expansionism became increasingly necessary as a policy as the demands of the food supply for the core of the Empire increased. There arose an inexorable impetus towards an urban policy for Africa. The major part of the initial expansion took place in the latter half of the reign of Augustus and under Tiberius, when the frontier was extended to a line running from Tacape - Capsa - Thelepte - Theveste - Thubursicu Numidarum. The remaining period of the Julio-Claudians saw the consolidation of the interior region behind this line. Cities on the line or directly behind it had probably first been occupied permanently as military outposts by Blaesus during the war with Tacfarinas, and in a sense were the first line of defence for the agricultural interior against the Gaetulian nomads. It is no accident that many of them such as Sufes, Sufetula, Cillium, Thelepte, Theveste and Ammaedara tended to adopt urban patterns which gave them a military, "camp-like" appearance.⁹⁶ The cities to the rear of this line, however, continued in their urban development much as before.

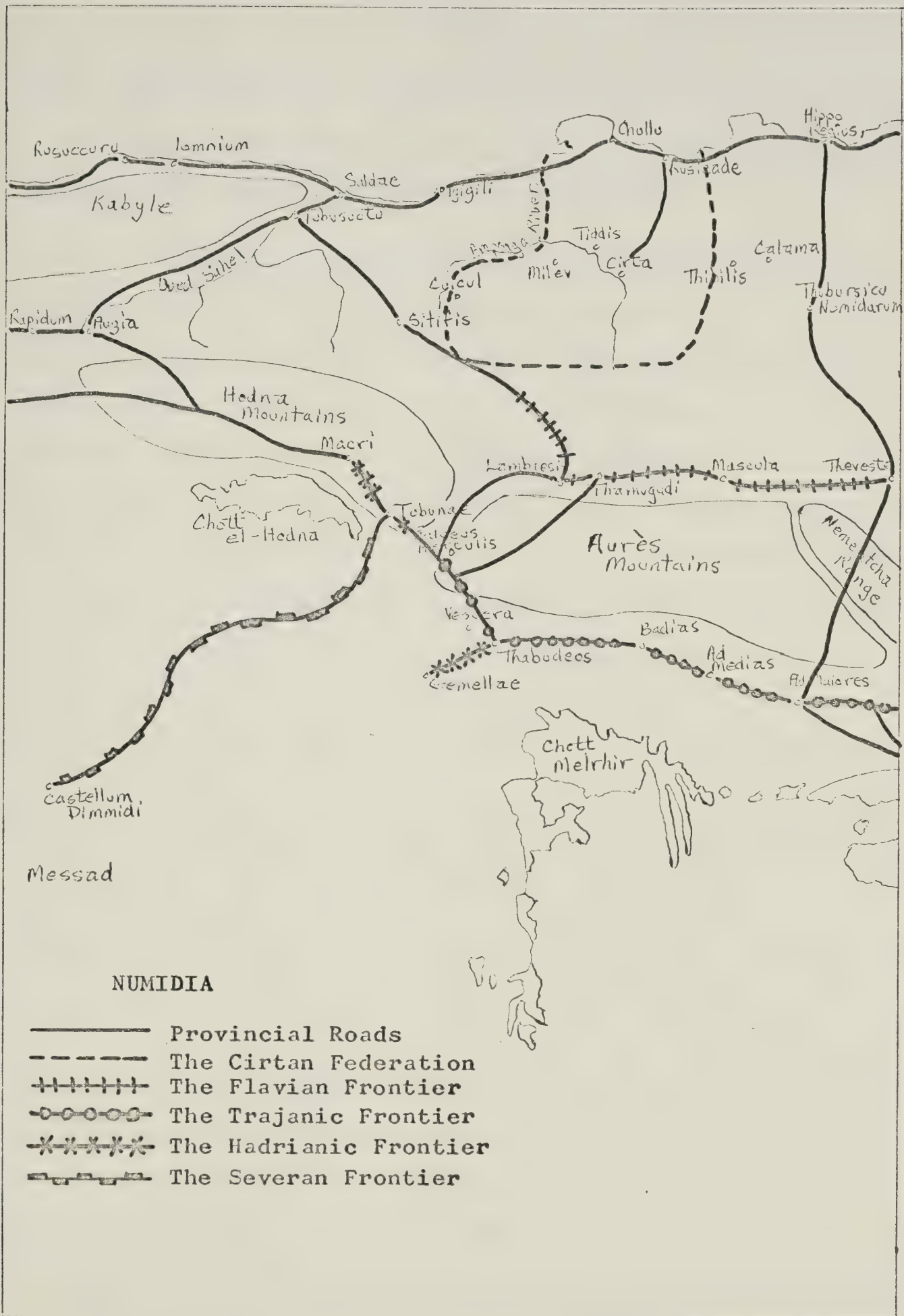
Chapter Four

Africa Romana: From the Flavians to the Severi

The end of the civil wars brought a new dynasty, the Flavians, to the throne and with it a new emperor, Vespasian, who certainly knew the value of Africa. He had personal experience of the land, having been governor of Proconsularis. The lack of sympathy of certain Africans towards him at that time and during the civil wars must have influenced his determination to tie it more securely to Flavian and imperial interests.¹ Even during the civil war, while in Alexandria, he had been making preparations for a naval and land invasion of the province in order to gain control of Rome's grain supply. The continuing importance of this African source is indicated by the shortage of grain in A.D. 70 due to severe winter storms. This brief halt in the flow of grain caused the populace in the city to speculate that the governor of Africa, Lucius Piso, might have rebelled.²

The hallmark of the Flavian administration was reform, not only military and administrative, but above all economic reform. Vespasian's propaganda had declared that a vast (and probably exaggerated) sum of money would be needed to rebuild the empire; in this way, no doubt, he prepared the general populace for the taxation and administrative reforms that were to follow. In the provinces this meant a re-organisation of the whole civil and military structure to make it more efficient, and a careful delineation of frontiers to include more productive and more easily defended areas, and to exclude those which were too costly to maintain. In Africa, Vespasian proceeded to undertake both of these programs.

A glance down the list of the Flavian governors immediately shows common characteristics: they were mostly of Italian origin, all from rich and established families, all with a great deal of experience in civil matters (many were former orators of some note) and, what is most striking of all, most with earlier experience in Africa. In short, they had proved themselves to be good administrators, competent and efficient men.³ Such a man was C. Vibius Crispus, a delator under Nero and a man of considerable talent, adjudged so by no less an authority than Quintilian.⁴ There are good reasons to believe that he was chosen extra sortem by Vespasian for a term of more than one year, in order to carry out the needed reform of the province. His knowledge of Africa would not be lacking since he had considerable wealth concentrated there. Part of this re-organisation of the province took place during Vespasian's censorship of A.D. 73-74 when a special legate C. Rutilius Gallicus, was appointed to reform the collection of the tribute, perhaps annulling the concessions which had been granted by Otho. He carried out this task with such great tact that the thankful provincials erected an honorary dedication to him in his home town of Augusta Taurinarum.⁶ About this same year, together with another ex-praetor, Sentius Caecilianus, he proceeded to delineate and re-establish the traces of the old Fossa Regia. The purpose of this re-survey was to delineate lands owned by descendants of the Marian settlers outside of Africa Vetus who did not have to pay the vectigal, and the lands inside this area which were subject to this tax.⁷ It is probably at this same time that Vespasian, while re-organizing the praetorian and urban cohorts at Rome, stationed the cohors XIII Urbana some 1200 men strong, at Carthage. It was pro-



bably located in this city as an aid to the governor in collecting taxes, as well as to provide him with a force of his own not under the command of the imperial legate of Numidia beyond the frontiers.

These civilian and military reforms were paralleled by an interest in commercial expansion. To the east, however, trade from the Sudan Belt remained under the control of the Garamantes who occupied the Fezzan, south of Lepcis Magna. Beyond the area of Roman control, they remained a dangerous threat to the cities on the Syrtes. In A.D. 69 they had gone so far as to intervene directly in a dispute between Oea and Lepcis, taking the part of the former city. The legate Valerius Festus, however, did manage to drive them off into the desert.⁹ But the Garamantes were difficult to control - they were prime exponents of desert warfare; their favorite tactic when attacked was to retreat into the desert, concealing their wells with sand as they went.¹⁰ They still remained a gens indomita et inter accolae latrociniis fecunda.¹¹ The Flavians made the final move to control this important tribe and were well aware of the advantages in doing so: Pliny the Elder, writing in A.D. 77, writes of many trade routes running through Garamantian territory, especially of one running south-west from the Great Syrtis to Trogodytae, a center rich in the trade in carbuncles.¹² The Romans staged repeated raids into the Fezzan, finally occupying the Garamantian capital at Garama; by the end of Flavian times the Garamantes had become useful allies to the Romans, guiding the expedition of Iulius Maternus on a four month journey to the Sudan.¹³ The result is that both Garama, the chief Garamantian city and Lepcis had a great increase in wealth, and Lepcis now began to enjoy a commercial boom as the chief port city in Tripolitania.¹⁴

The changes undertaken in Africa Proconsularis consist of a two fold program of rationalization of the frontiers and development of cities behind the newly acquired areas. The first step in this process was the transfer of the III Augusta legion from Ammaedara to Theveste, twenty-five miles to the south-west, a move which took place in A.D. 75. This moved the legion near to the encircling Nementcha mountains on the eastern edge of the Aurès Range. The move was a preparatory one to a general annexation of all the land to the west and north of Aurès range up to the edge of the Hodna. In the following year the first move into this new territory was made by the establishment of a camp at Mascula (Kenchela), fifty miles to the west of Theveste and about halfway to the final point of expansion at Lambaesis.¹⁵ The final move was made under Titus in A.D. 81, whose legate Tettius Iulianus established a legionary camp at Lambaesis itself, about a mile away from the one later established at the same site in A.D. 129 by Trajan.¹⁶ The frontier was strengthened by the addition of troops from Syria, obviously specialists in desert warfare, the cohors Chalcidenorum equitata.¹⁷ Vespasian also made a concerted drive to recruit men for the III Augusta from Africa itself, an effort that points to the growing citizen body being produced by the African municipalities at this time. Moreover, he formed whole new auxiliary regiments from native Africans, such as cohors II Flavia Afrorum, cohors I Flavia Musulamiorum and added them to existing auxiliary formations.¹⁸ This move was extremely important for encouraging semi-Romanized Africans to seek citizenship, and thus to increase the supply of potential urban - military communities.

These military changes were matched by the increased growth of urban centers behind the frontiers; doubtless to compensate for the fact that the legion was now less accessible for defence. An exact parallel can be observed in the policy of Agricola in Britain during this period; urbanization providing the strength and organisation in the rear of the advancing frontiers. There is evidence of increased activity by the Flavians at Sufetula and Cillium, both of which had many new citizens enrolled in Vespasian's tribe - the Quirina. At Ammaedara, the former headquarters of the legion, Vespasian established a large colony of veterans, and there was possibly a similar settlement at Thelepte. Later, under Domitian, veterans were settled in a colony at Madauros, an old African city in Numidian territory.¹⁹ At the same time more veterans were established in settlements on the frontier road north of the Aurès which connected Theveste and Lambaesis, at Mascula, Aqua Flaviana and Vaisaivi.²⁰ The Flavians also worked on the improvement of communications between the inland cities. The road from Carthage to Theveste was repaired (A.D. 73-75), and in the following year the Theveste-Tacape line was continued by the building of a road from Theveste via Thubursicu Numidarum to Hippo Regius on the coast. This route passed directly through the land of a nomadic tribe centered around the three cities of Thubursicu Numidarum, Thagaste and Madauros (where veterans had just been settled).²¹ Perhaps a connecting road was built directly to Cirta in the west, though this is not as certain.²²

In expanding territory in Tripolitania and in the area north of the Aurès Range, the Flavians were attempting to continue the old Roman policy: this is, to take over regions from the nomadic tribes, to control their movements, and then to open the area to agrarian and urban settlement. By establishing the legion at Lambaesis, the Flavians would be able to control a major route of nomadic tribes from the desert regions south of Lambaesis through the Biskra Gap, the only large pass between the Aurès Range and the Hodna into the rich plains of Constantine and Sétif. Once in control of this crucial pass the Romans could turn to the control of the movements of the tribes within the area to the north-east, by containing them within clearly defined areas and forcing them to settle on reservations. Compelled to abandon their traditional routes of transhumance herding they had little choice except to become resigned to a sedentary way of life. It was to this end that an imperial legate, C. Tullius Firmus, was appointed to delimit the territories held by nomadic tribes.²³ He did this for the Suppenses and Vofricenses, tribes whose existence if otherwise unknown, but who were probably located to the region south of Cirta.²⁴ This location can be conjectured on the basis of a newly discovered inscription which shows the same legate involved in a similar delimitation of territory, this time involving the Suburbures and Nicibes. The inscription was found on a boundary marker near the town of Sigus to the south-west of Cirta.²⁵ This same policy was applied to areas in Tripolitania. In A.D. 87 Domitian had the legate of the III Augusta, Cn. Suellius Flaccus, delineate the territories of the Muduciuvii and the Zanucii inland from the Lesser Syrtis.²⁶

All of these efforts at expansion and settlement were aimed at increasing the wealth of the countryside and the cities. Flavian interest in the economic growth of Africa can be demonstrated by several examples. Vespasian (and Titus), acting through the proconsul Q. Vibius Crispus, brought large-scale irrigation works and wells to the region around Thysdrus. It was this move which not only encouraged the urbanization of Thysdrus itself but also made it the main center of oil production in Africa in the second century A.D.²⁷ The area which was settled with veterans surrounding Madauros also shows a similar development based on the olive crop.²⁸ A similar interest in the water supply is shown by their work around Sufetula and Cillium (also settled by veterans) and further west around their new settlements in the plains around Mascula, Lambaesis and Timgad.²⁹ The triangle Theveste - Sufetula - Thelepte became another prime center for the production of oil.³⁰ The areas further to the west now added to the grain production from Africa. By Domitian's time the grain supply was no longer collected by private companies of equestrians but was directed by the government bureau a rationibus at Rome.³¹ Flavian interest in trade has been shown above in their treatment of the Garamantes, but they also seem to have stimulated industry, especially in the coastal cities of Caesariensis. Here a new type of pottery known as Clear Sigillata-Type A appears (at Tipasa, among other places). At the beginning of Domitian's reign there is evidence that it was being exported to cities like Marseille in France.³²

The agricultural development of the new territories necessitated the exclusion of the nomadic tribes from these areas either by keeping them outside the limes or by forcibly removing them from arable land and settling them within well-defined areas where there could be constant surveillance. In Tripolitania the attacks on the Garamantes set a pattern that was to be followed on other tribes. These policies, of course, produced a predictable result. Africa was once again struck by a general tribal revolt. In A.D. 84-86 the Nasamones around the Greater Syrtis began their resistance to Roman occupation. Forces were placed under the control of Cn. Suellius Flaccus and what resulted was wholesale genocide. He proceeded to eliminate the Nasamones as a people, or so Domitian boasted in the Senate.³³ Probably connected with the war in Tripolitania was the general outbreak of fighting in Mauretania ca. A.D. 86-87. Special measures were undertaken to oppose the enemy. C. Velius Rufus was given command of the XIII urban cohort at Carthage with the special command added as dux exercitus Africi et Mauretanici ad nationes quae sunt in Mauretania comprimendas.³⁴ A military diploma dating to this time discovered at Volubilis in Tingitana shows a large force comprised of five alae and five cohorts under the command of L. Vallius Tranquillus. The campaign, at least in the far west, seems to have been completed by the time this document was granted, 13 January A.D. 88.³⁵ It is probably following this war that further expansion inland took place from Saldae and Tubusuctu up the valleys towards Sétif and down Oued Sahel to the south-west. The valley of Oued Sahel also became a region of olive production.³⁶ At the same time the link between Cirta and Milev was extended westwards to Sitifis through the Babor

Mountains, and a settlement of veterans was established at Cuicul, about halfway along the route, during the reign of Nerva.³⁷ This latter development shows that the expansion and consolidation in Africa was not tied to the policy of any one emperor. Settlement continued under Nerva's reign, probably due more to the demands and requirements of the situation in Africa than to any deliberate policy on his part. Nevertheless, the Flavian contribution to the development of Africa was crucial. The policies which they pursued elsewhere in the empire, to make it more economic by outling it on a more efficient and professional basis, can be seen in their choice of governors, many of them former delators under Nero - a fact which did not worry Vespasian in the least. He was looking for efficiency. Financial reform also entailed a rationalization of the frontiers, that is, seeking more secure military positions and using natural features to greater advantage, in order to cut down on the number of troops needed and hence the expense of maintaining the army.³⁸ All of these conditions were sought and achieved by the Flavians in Africa and laid the foundation for the great economic boom in Africa in the second century A.D.

The urbanization of Africa under Trajan is mainly connected with the strengthening of the existing frontiers; the extent to which this policy affected the physical appearance of urban centers can be seen at Thamugadi (modern Timgad) where he founded a colony in A.D. 100.³⁹ This settlement of veterans was placed at the foot of the Aurès Range - at the entrance to Oued Abdi and Ouel Abiad, two of the main routes to the south of the mountains. Trajan made the legate of the III Augusta legion responsible for the project of settling ex-legionaries and their families

at the new site. This town was constructed along the lines of a military camp, being in the form of a square approximately twelve-hundred feet to a side. As in most of the new cities founded in the plains to the west of Theveste, the Roman engineers were working from carte blanche and this factor is reflected in the extreme regularity of the town plans. At Timgad, the large square of the town itself was in turn cut into four quarters by the cardo maximus (north to south) and the decumanus maximus (east to west). Each of these quarters was then divided into thirty-six blocks about twenty meters to a side. The whole pattern of the city, like a giant checkerboard, was broken only by the placement of the forum and the theatre in the southern half and south-eastern quarter respectively.⁴⁰ In the same year as the founding of the colony, the legate Munatius Gallus constructed a road joining Timgad with Mascula to the east. He also built a second and larger legionary camp to the west at Lambaesis.⁴¹ The city then saw continuous growth and building right up to the time of the Severi, substantial growth being indicated under the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁴² The settlement could count on the patronage of the legates of the legion, men who often made material contributions towards the development of the city. At its height the city reached a population of around fifteen thousand.⁴³

Trajan afforded greater protection for the interior of Numidia by extending the frontier to the southern edge of the Aurès range, thus controlling passes through the mountains from their Saharan entrances. He did this by the construction of a new frontier road running from

Capsa, a town on the old Theveste-Tacape line, to Ad Maiores (modern Hr. Besseriani) where he built a new fort. The road continued from here to Ad Medias, then north-west around Chott Melrhir to Thabudeos. From this spot the road went north-west to Vescera and Calceus Herculis where Vescera (modern Biskra) formed a guard at the southern entrance to the "Biskra Gap."⁴⁴

The foundation of Timgad and the extension of the frontier to the south merely marked the continuation of the development of the land behind the frontier in Numidia. These projects were also carried out by the legate Munatius Gallus and continued by his successor L. Minucius Natalis and L. Acilius Strabo Clodius Nummus. The enclosure of tribes continued, especially the lands of the Musulamii. The city of Madauros was extending its territory at their loss, as were various imperial and private estates in the same region.⁴⁵ Other tribes such as the Tisibenenses, to the west of Theveste, and the Suburbures to the southwest of Cirta were also having their lands similarly delimited.⁴⁶

To the east, Trajan seems to have made a start on the line later known as the Limes Tripolitanus. New work was done on the road from Theveste to Capsa, and from there south to Turris Tamullini.⁴⁷ With the removal of the last elements of the legion from Theveste, a large number of veterans were left as settlers in the city.⁴⁸ The land south of Chott Fedjedj belonging to the Nybgenii was now delimited and accompanied by centuriation, which surveyed the land for permanent occupation.⁴⁹

This, combined with the Flavian subjugation of tribes along the Syrtes, allowed for the continued prosperity of the coastal cities. At Lepcis Magna the first quadriform arch in Africa was erected in honor of Trajan. Further development of the city under Trajan can be seen in the construction of the Basilica Maior, the baths and adjacent porticoes.⁵⁰

The growing urbanization along Roman patterns of the towns in the great river valleys and along the Dorsal in Proconsularis is clearly demonstrated by the development at Mactar. During the first century A.D. this town had remained a stronghold of Punic influence and retained old forms of building much longer than towns within the Fossa Regia. It still had a public place of the Numidian type and winding, irregular streets. In A.D. 116, however, it began the construction of a new, Roman style forum a few hundred meters to the east of the old public square. East-west and north-south roads were forged along the lines of this new forum, forming the cardo and decumanus of the changed city.⁵¹ To the north, in the heart of the river valleys, the development of the great estates is demonstrated by the famous inscription from Henchir-Mettich (just north of Thignica) which dates to his reign.⁵² The cities in former Musulamian territory directly to the west were becoming Romanized, as is reflected in their religious architecture - Thubursicu Numidarum, the former center of the tribe, constructed a temple to the Capitoline Triad around A.D. 101-102.⁵³

With the last years of Trajan and the first years of Hadrian there came the first attempts to extend the frontier in Caesariensis beyond the coastal cities. After A.D. 114 roads were being built between

Siga and Tasaccura (modern St. Denis du Sig) and from there directly north to the coast at Portus Magnus.⁵⁴ Attempts were probably made to continue the road east to Oppidum Novum, and to the same site from Tubusuctu - Auzia - Rapidum in the east. This new expansion probably triggered the revolt of the Mauri which broke out at the beginning of Hadrian's reign.⁵⁵ The campaign against them was commanded by Q. Marcius Turbo, and apparently successfully completed by the spring of A.D. 118.⁵⁶ This enabled further defensive work to be taken around Sitifis and Rapidum, presumably with the intention of continuing the expansion.⁵⁷ About A.D. 120, however, the Mauri once again attacked the new works, although they were successfully repulsed after two years of fighting.⁵⁸ This enabled the final work in this sector to be completed under Hadrian - the building of the road connecting Auzia, Rapidum and Thanaramusa Castrum.⁵⁹ To the south of Numidia, Hadrian extended the Trajanic line south of the Aures by building a road south-west from Thabudeos and building a camp at Gemellae in about A.D. 126.⁶⁰

In the lands behind the limes development continued much as before. The inscriptions of Aïn Ouassel (Les Hadriana de rudibus agris), Aïn el Djemala and from the Saltus Burunitanus all date from this period and demonstrate the growing importance of these agricultural estates.⁶¹ To the west, Hadrian facilitated the shipment of grain from the Numidian hinterlands by improving roads in the region of Cirta, and also those between Sitifis and Cuicul.⁶² He also encouraged industrial economic growth by decisively expanding the work at the marble pits at Simitthus which had been begun under Trajan.⁶³ These pits produced

a much desired yellow marble with red veins known as the giallo antico. Hadrian allowed for the expansion of this trade to the large cities of the Mediterranean by connecting the quarries to the sea-port at Thabraca with a road.⁶⁴

The increasing exploitation of agricultural lands in Numidia is evidenced by the further delimitation of tribal territories such as that inter Suppenses et Vofricenses near Thagaste.⁶⁵ In A.D. 127 the boundaries inter Igilgilitanos...et Zimizes were fixed ut sciant Zimizes non plus in usum haber[e]: apparently Igilgili, like nearby Saldae had been expanding inland.⁶⁶ In the last year of Hadrian's reign, it is areas far to the west which were being affected. In A.D. 137, the procurator C. Petronius Celer fixed the boundaries between the city of Regiae (modern Arbal) and a nearby imperial estate (inter Regienses et Saltum Cu...) and in the same year he fixed the finis adsignati genti Numidarum in the area of Lemellef and Equizetum. This line shows that the area north of the Hodna mountains, between Sitifis and Auzia was being controlled.⁶⁷

The urbanization of areas which had been controlled since Flavian times continued under Antoninus Pius. An example of this type of growth is Gigthis on the Lesser Syrtis. The surrounding area, once a stronghold of the Cinithii was now a center of olive production of which Gigthis was the main shipping port for the presses and factories. This is demonstrated by the archaeological evidence of the remains of docks, and of the jars which were used for shipping the oil.⁶⁸ Large centers like this now began to receive important patrons, such as Q. Egrilius

Plarianus, who was governor of Proconsularis in A.D. 159. The grant of municipal status which Gigthis received about this time may have sparked subsequent urbanization under Marcus Aurelius, when a temple to Apollo was built, as well as a curia chamber and porticoes around the new forum.⁶⁹

Under Antonius Pius, Africa underwent a dramatic upsurge in public building which left its mark on almost every city, a fact which is further borne out by the great rise in expenditures on public buildings in his reign.⁷⁰ The literary sources also bear out some of the facets of his building activity. From these sources it is known that a great fire destroyed the forum at Carthage and, together with it, the quarter adjacent in the lower part of the city.⁷¹ The fire can be dated to about A.D. 153; Pius began to reconstruct the entire area, a task which was finally completed under Marcus Aurelius. Pius finished work on the aqueduct which had been begun under Hadrian and also restored the temple of Caelestis. The great Antonine baths in the city were constructed towards the end of his reign and were decorated with lavish richness.

Under Antoninus Pius a definite decision was made to move the frontier in Caesariensis south to the forward line which had been developed in places by Trajan and Hadrian. The coastal cities, it seems, had been too vulnerable to the attack of African tribesmen during their reigns: fortifications and walls had to be built around Tipasa and Caesarea.⁷² Although a peace treaty seems to have been struck between the Romans and the Baquates in Tingitana in A.D. 140, as early as A.D. 144 even the coastal cities seem to have come under attack.⁷³ Detach-

ments were sent to Tingitana and a large army with five alae drawn from the armies of Upper and Lower Moesia was concentrated in Caesariensis under the command of the procurator Porcius Vetustinus.⁷⁴ By about A.D. 150 the situation appears to have been brought under control and the Mauri held off for the moment, but more troops had to be brought in- to Tingitana later around 158-160.⁷⁵ In Caesariensis, the limes now extended from Auzia - Rapidum - Oppidum Novum, down the Chélif River valley then west to Tasaccura and Siga. In A.D. 150 an auxiliary cohort of Syrians was settled at El-Kantara at the eastern extremity of the Aurès, commanding the southern entrance of the alternate route to Lambaesis.

Antoninus Pius also encouraged inland development by the building of important new commercial routes such as the one connecting Milev with the port-city of Chullu.⁷⁶ As a result of a similar move taken by Hadrian, the quarries at Simitthus were now being exploited on an extensive scale.⁷⁷ The spread of imperial and private estates was now reaching areas to the north of Sufetula in Proconsularis and north of Equizetum in Numidia.⁷⁸

Immediately on his accession, however, Marcus Aurelius had to deal with a new and more serious revolt of the Baquates in Tingitana and Caesariensis. Once again the limes appear to have been breached and the cities on the coast thrown into a dangerous position since the tribesmen even seem to have seized boats and crossed the Strait in order to invade Baetica to the north.⁷⁹ In A.D. 167 the pagani and veterani combined forces to build a new stone wall around the city of Rapidum for their own protection, and the disturbances seem to have continued in

Caesariensis and Baetica (where re-inforcements were sent in 171) until A.D. 176.⁸⁰ The powerful principes of the Baquates, among them a certain Ucmetus (Libyan Ucmet) seem to have come to terms with the Romans, pacts being agreed upon around A.D. 169 and A.D. 173.⁸¹ Nevertheless, these disturbances mainly effected the inland cities of Tingitana and the limes outposts in Caesariensis, whereas further to the east in Numidia and Proconsularis, urban and rural growth continued unhindered. Building, in fact, was now going on at an unprecedented rate.⁸² An example of how the new building in these cities was Romanizing their appearance is the new Roman forum and surrounding area built at Thuburbo Maius, where the new development overlaid the irregularity of the previous settlement revealed by the twisting patterns of the old roads running near to the forum area. A similar change can be seen at Thugga (modern Dougga), also in the Medjerda plain but further to the west. This old Numidian town was built on a high location overlooking the valley of oued Khalled near the Carthage-Theveste highway. When the Roman settlers came to this region (from the time of Marius onward), they chose a place in the valley away from the old town-here they built a small forum and temple for the worship of the emperor. It was not until the time of Marcus Aurelius, however, that architects in the service of the great families of the town constructed a totally new complex - a capitolium, forum, theater, temples and other buildings. The symmetry and unity of the new design was completed under Commodus with the building of a new plaza, known today as the "Place of the Winds."⁸³

The increasing wealth and importance of the African cities of this period is often indicated by the status and activities of their patrons. At Sicca Veneria a rich imperial procurator who came from this city, P. Licinius Papirianus, instituted an alimenta program much like the one Trajan had put into effect in Italy.⁸⁴ One of the daughters of Marcus Aurelius, Vibia Aurelia Sabina, was patroness of both Calama and Thibilis, cities directly to the east of Cirta. In the case of Thibilis, it was probably her marriage to a wealthy senator from the city, L. Antistius Burrus, which caused her to become the city's patroness.⁸⁵ Ceionia Plautia, the daughter of L. Verus, became patroness of Tuccabor in the Upper Bagradas valley - also probably because of her marriage to the African Q. Servilius Pudens, the consul of A.D. 166.⁸⁶ Especially in the cases of Thibilis and Tuccabor, the acquisition of such important patrons shows the extent to which the economies of these relatively small towns had prospered based on the produce of the surrounding countryside.

Although under Commodus, Tingitana was once again threatened by the attacks of the Baquates, the emperor appears to have gained a compromise through continuing the negotiations (conloquia) with the princeps of the tribe.⁸⁷ He also repaired and constructed new forts and towers on the limes in Caesariensis west of Auzia.⁸⁸ In Tripolitania Commodus began work on a large system of defences which was to protect the whole inhabited area inland from the Lesser Syrtis. He anchored this system, known as the limes Tripolitanus, by establishing two new forts at Vez-

ereos and Tisavar (Ksar Rhilane) to the south-east of Tacape and placing garrisons in them.⁸⁹ In southern Numidia he also anchored another limes system which was later to extend westwards across Mauretania by the extension of the El-Kantara road to Tubunae.⁹⁰

Building and public expenditures in the towns and cities behind the limes continued to rise under his reign. The agrarian economy at the basis of this activity continued to be attended to; for example, an imperial rescript dating to A.D. 180-183 refers to the settlement of a dispute on the saltus Burunitanus in the heart of the Medjerda valley.⁹¹ The main road from Cirta to the port-city of Rusicade was repaired allowing easier transportation of grain from the plains of Numidia.⁹² Finally, Commodus established a special grain fleet to collect the African harvest shipped from the ports around Carthage:

...classem Africanam instituit, quae subsidio esset, si forte Alexandrina frumenta cessassent.⁹³

The assassination of Commodus and the ensuing civil war in A.D. 193 brought a new dynasty, the Severi from Africa to the throne. In at least one case, that of Lepcis Magna, the patria of the emperor Septimius Severus, urbanization can be considered to be the direct result of special patronage. Elsewhere in Africa, however, the urbanization of cities behind the limes show no special attention by the Severi above and beyond what would be expected under the normal trend of development. At his hometown of Lepcis, Severus undertook an enormous project, which entailed the rebuilding of the central part of the city as well as the

building of large new harbor facilities. The building included a new forum, basilica, temples, theater, baths, columned way, city gates, aqueducts and a monumental nymphaeum.⁹⁴ It even seems that special artists and architects were brought in from Asia Minor and Syria in the east to mastermind the whole project.⁹⁵ The entire complex was substantially complete by the time of his death in A.D. 211.

Whereas the process of urbanization was given considerable impetus by the patronage of the emperor, the urban growth of Cuicul (modern Djemila) during Severus' reign must be ascribed to the growing prosperity of the town itself based on mixed agriculture and the cash-crop of olives. The town was originally settled by veterans in the reign of Nerva in a depression between the heights on either side of oued Gurgour and oued Betame. Its urban growth had been in a north-south line in irregular patterns which were dictated by the narrow confines of the surrounding hills. The amount of public building, for the most part, was due to the efforts of the local magistrates such as Gaius Julius Crescens Didius Crescentianus who built a large basilica for the town (ca. A.D. 169). Various other families who constituted the local aristocracy, especially the Cosinii, made other contributions of city building.⁹⁶ The growing importance of the city was mirrored in the fortunes of a family like the Claudii. Tiberius Claudius came to the city as a military tribune; one of his sons, L. Claudius Brutto, became aedile, augur and duumvir in the municipal government while the other, Ti. Claudius Cicero, had a long civic career culminating in the offices of duumvir, prefect of the iuvenes and duumvir quinquennalis. Their descendants in turn were Claudius Aquila who became Prefect of Egypt and T. Claudius Subatianus who was adlected into the Senate and ended his career as

governor of Numidia (A.D. 208-210).⁹⁷ The urbanization of the town follows a similar upward trend during the second century. The great baths were constructed in the southern section of the city under Commodus in A.D. 183-184, but it was not until the time of the Severi that the plan of the city was radically altered. Under Septimius Severus and Caracalla a new period of urbanization was undertaken to give the town greater unity and symmetry of form. This was done by driving a long straight road through the northern section of the town to connect with the southern cardo, thus forming one long axis through the center of the town. At the center of this new axis a new forum was built to the south of the old town center. The building of this new forum was completed under Caracalla who built an arch on the west side of the complex. New horrea or grain storage bins were also constructed under Septimius Severus.⁹⁸ Alexander Severus completed the central complex around the forum with the building of the temple to the Gens Septimiana.⁹⁹

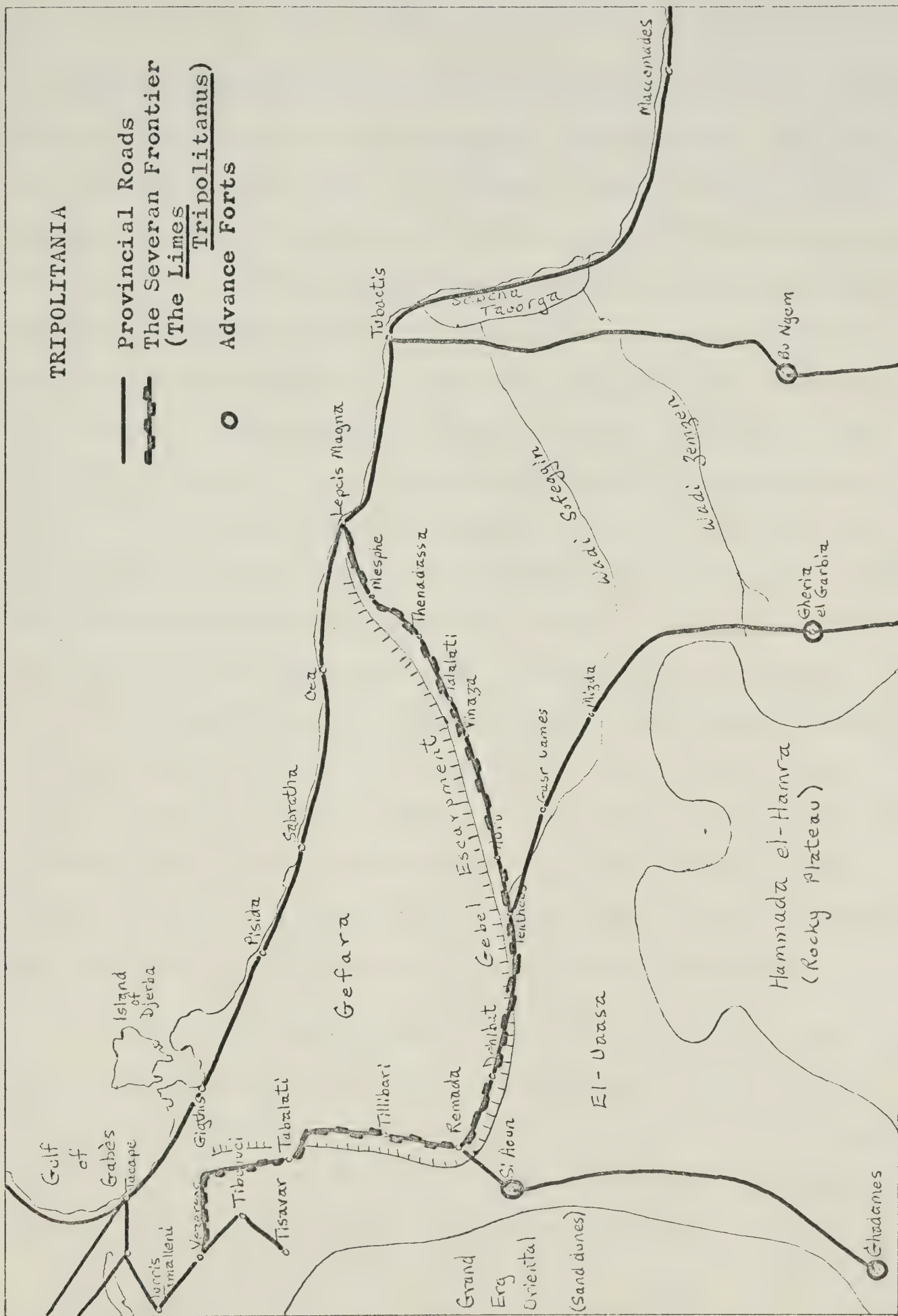
The main Severan contributions, however, were on the frontiers which they both extended and used as areas of settlement in themselves. In Mauretania Caesariensis they advanced the frontier to the south by constructing a new limes between the older settlements of Altava and Pomaria in the west and Tubunae and Macri north of Chott el-Hodna. About A.D. 198 a fort was planted at Taraess (ancient Tatilti) in the Hodna depression where the road ran connecting the Mauretanian and Numidian limes. In A.D. 201 the procurator P. Aelius Peregrinus built a fort on a strategic point to the west guarding the pass between the Ouarensis Range and the Titteri Mountains towards the Chélif River valley, and

stationed the Ala Pia Gemina Sebastena there.¹⁰⁰ From the west new forts were built at Luci (modern Timzioune), Tiaret and at Ternaten to the south-west of Tiaret where dedications to Severus and Caracalla have been found by the Ala I Aug. Parthenorum Antoniniana.¹⁰¹ At about the same time (ca. A.D. 208) the cohors II Sardorum was positioned at Altava on the western end of the line.¹⁰² Finally in A.D. 205 a settlement was established at Uzinaza (modern Saneg) a little east of the point where oued Chélif passes through the Titteri Range.¹⁰³ This new limes also had new cavalry units double the normal size called milliariae. These units together with smaller units of cavalry were stationed at short intervals along the line so that a new frontier with rapid communication was established in front of the old Antonine line. The new limes, therefore, was essentially a frontier of surveillance so that the movement of nomadic tribes through the mountain passes could be controlled.¹⁰⁴

To the south of Numidia, Severus extended the limes unto the desert region far to the south with the establishment of Castellum Dimmidi in the Messad in A.D. 197. It was a fort occupied by vexillationes of the third Augusta legion and the third Gallica plus a cavalry wing of Pannonians. This post not only guarded the whole approach to the limes south of the Aurès but also gave flank protection to the region south of Chott el-Hodna.¹⁰⁵ This latter area was now opened to settlers. In A.D. 198 a team of agrimensores were dispatched to survey these lands for the cultores. The inscription tells of the agri (fields), pascua (pasture lands) and the fontes (water springs) which were assign-

TRIPOLITANIA

- Provincial Roads
- The Severan Frontier (The Limes Tripolitanus)
- Advance Forts



ed to the individual land-holders under the authority of Septimius Severus and by command of his legate in Numidia, Anicius Faustus. The whole operation was under the care of the military, being carried out by an evocatus of the third Augusta, one M. Gennius Felix.¹⁰⁶ About this time the limes south of the Aurès, especially around the Biskra Gap was also undergoing a dramatic change. This change was connected with the building of the Fossatum Africae - a long trench (vallum) and associated with it a complex of watch-towers, roads and fortresses. Its trace has been discovered (through the use of aerial photography) from south of Thabudeos to a point west of Gemellae, north from Aqua Viva to Thubunae and to the east in an area south of the Nementcha Range around Ad Maiores.¹⁰⁷ The importance of the Fossatum, however, lies not so much in the frontier itself as in the considerable agrarian development which surrounded it. In extensive regions directly behind the frontier great reaches of arid land had been reclaimed by the careful preservation of water through the use of dams on the wadis, canals, cisterns and irrigations. The populations living on these lands then tended to gather into small urban agglomerations along the limes itself. These settlers, known as limitanei, were then able to serve double duty as both soldiers and farmers.

Much the same type of line was now developed in Tripolitania from the beginnings which had been made under Commodus. Advance posts at Bu Ngem and El-Gheria el-Gharbia were built far into the desert south of Tubactis on the coast.¹⁰⁸ Under the care of the legate Q. Anicius Faustus the old post at Vezereos was strengthened in A.D. 201, and sub-

sequently new forts were built to the east at Sidi Aoun and Sidi Mohammed ben Aissa.¹⁰⁹ The cohors II Flavia Afrorum was posted at the fortress of Remada (ancient Tillibari) probably about the same time. Gradually the whole edge of the Gebel escarpment was dotted with forts placed about thirty miles apart.¹¹⁰ Behind this limes and associated with it were numerous fortified farms basically dependant on olive cultivation, especially in the areas of the Wadis Sofeggin and Zemzem to the south of Lepcis Magna. As along the Fossatum Africae these farmers also served as part-time soldiers on the limes. It is probably the settlement of these fortified-farms in the arid regions of Tripolitania which led to the economic 'boom' and era of security for the coastal cities referred to in such glowing terms by the HA:

Tripolim, unde oriundus erat, contusis bellicosissimis gentibus, secruissimam reddidit ac populo Romano diu[tu]rnum oleum gratuitum et fecundissimum in aeternum donavit.¹¹¹

The Severi also made significant contributions towards the urbanization of the interior of Numidia, which was formed into a province in A.D. 198 under the legate Q. Anicius Faustus, who became the first governor.¹¹² Here the main drive of Severan urbanization was in the agricultural plains surrounding the city of Sitifis (modern Sétif). Under Caracalla the first moves were made towards organizing the coloni of the rural areas into concentrated positions, that is, fortified castella from which they could defend themselves.¹¹³ Glimpses of this process, however, can be seen as far back as the reign of Antoninus Pius.¹¹⁴ In A.D. 213 the coloni Kalefacelenses named their newly

constructed castellum 'Antoniniana' in honor of the emperor.¹¹⁵ Similar building was taking place at another castellum, that of Thamallula, in the same region close to Sitifis.¹¹⁶ The general prosperity of the area based on agriculture seems to have led to an expansion of these centers under Severus Alexander as can be seen from the inscription:

castellum Citofactenses auctis viribus et moen[i]bus suis...
muros extruxerunt curante...Licin[i]o Hieroclete procuratore.¹¹⁷

The same process can also be seen at nearby castellum Thib... to the west of Sitifis and at castellum Dianense.¹¹⁸ Although these castella increased in size under Severus Alexander, their important transition in civic status to res publicae seems to have taken place earlier under Caracalla.¹¹⁹

Under the Severan dynasty the frontiers in Africa reached their greatest extent and the growth of the cities behind the frontiers also reached heights which were never again to be equaled. As has been seen, however, the Severi themselves made no direct contribution towards urban growth in their own time. Most of the cities that showed considerable urban development under their dynasty depended on the economic benefits that accrued from actions taken by the Antonines and the Flavians. However, the Severi were providing for future city and town growth in Africa by their work on the new frontiers, especially in Mauretania Caesariensis and to the south of Numidia, towards Castellum Dimmidi. This promise and basis for development under succeeding emperors, however, was never to be fulfilled.

Chapter Five

The End of Roman Africa

The downfall of the Severan dynasty in A.D. 235 brought a Thracian career soldier to the throne, Iulius Verus Maximinus, a man who had little sympathy with the dynasty or its African connections. His hostile policies, enforced in Africa Proconsularis by his procurator fisci, who was instituting oppressive financial measures against the land owners, reaped their inevitable result.¹ In A.D. 238 the sons of the local aristocracy at Thysdrus led a revolt against Maximinus' forces. The leaders of the coup d'état then acclaimed as emperor the elderly Gordianus, the proconsul of Africa, who was at Thysdrus to supervise the evaluation of the great olive harvest for taxation.² This revolt was to mark the beginning of decline of city development in Africa. For some reason the legionary forces stationed in southern Numidia did not feel that their interests would be represented by the new regime. As a result, Gordianus and his younger son, now resident at Carthage, were defeated in battle by Capellianus, the legate either of the third Augusta legion or of the province itself.³ Capellianus now proceeded to set himself up virtually as an autonomous ruler in Carthage and set about taking revenge on the urban centers of Proconsularis. He began by systematically liquidating the members of the municipal aristocracies, exiling others who had opposed him and turned loose his soldiers to plunder the towns of the province.⁴ By A.D. 240 it seems that all the provinces of Africa became embroiled in a civil war, which ended when a second self-made emperor at Carthage, a certain Sabinianus, was defeated by an army commander in Mauretania Caesariensis, Faltonius Restitianus.⁵ The establishment of a new stable regime in Rome under Gordianus III

finally brought a semblance of order to Africa, but the cost in the terms of Roman expansion was high. It meant the virtual abandonment of the prospects which had been opened up under the Severi. The III Augusta Legion was disbanded as punishment for the conduct under Capellianus. More important, however, was the decision to abandon the whole new line that the Severi had developed along Oued Djedi. Extensive work along this line had been carried out even until the last years of the reign of Alexander Severus, and yet one of the first acts taken upon the accession of Gordian III was the abandonment of the fortress of Castellum Dimmidi.⁶ Under Gordian attempts seem to have been made to repair buildings in the towns of Proconsularis and the fortifications of the castella around Sitifis which had fallen into disrepair.⁷ Although the reign of Gordian does show a slight upsurge in town building, the indication is false; after his reign the building in the African cities comes to a halt and does not recover until the end of the century. The reason for this decline must be seen in the general economic troubles in the empire outside of Africa. These troubles that the cash-crops upon which the African cities depended for their enormous profits could no longer be marketed or paid for by the state. Also, the disorganized conditions elsewhere in the empire meant that the limes in Africa, which depended on army troops on active service (as opposed to the limitanei), were less dependable and soon fell into disarray.^{7a} This was especially true for the defences of the two Mauretanas. In Tingitana the growing power of the Bavares and Baquates is finally recognized under the emperor Probus (A.D. 276-282). The chief of the Baquates, hitherto

always referred to as princeps is now called rex or king and the agreement made with him is styled as a foederata, an alliance between equals.⁸ Threatened by the general tribal revolt in Caesariensis in the last years of the third-century A.D., Tingitana was no longer able to hold out. The evidence of the Notitia Dignitatum shows that most of Tingitana had been abandoned by A.D. 285, as is confirmed by an analysis of the coin evidence from Volubilis.⁹ This move meant the abandoning of all the Roman cities in the province except for a few like Tingi on the Straits of Gibraltar. Mauretania Caesariensis was hit by a major tribal revolt which began around A.D. 290. The retreat of the frontiers in Tingitana left the western flank of the limes in Caesariensis vulnerable from that direction. In addition, urbanization had never taken a hold in the interior of Caesariensis, with the possible exception of the Chélif River valley. This lack of city development left many mountain and hill regions which were well populated by Berber tribes uncontrolled and, despite the presence of the limes, these tribes behind the frontiers, especially in the Djurdjura or Grande Kabyle, were easily able to threaten the plains below.¹⁰ The disturbances in Caesariensis, which had been increasing to an extremely serious level under Gallienus (254-260 A.D.), were renewed on an even greater scale at the end of the third century. The praeses (governor) of Caesariensis in A.D. 290, T. Aurelius Litua, was involved in battles with the Transtagnenses and the Quinquegentanei, tribes located in the Great Kabyle.¹¹ Litua was retained as commander-in-chief against the tribesmen at least until 293 A.D.¹² The opposition grew so serious, however, that it demanded the personal attention of the

Emperor Maximianus, who departed for Africa in 296-297 A.D. taking with him the legions IX Claudia and II Herculia (normally stationed on the Danube). It seems as though the revolt was controlled by A.D. 299., although the African tribes may have succeeded in carrying the war to Baetica again.¹³ The western part of Caesariensis, however, had already been under severe pressure from tribal raiders in 282-283 A.D.¹⁴ The evacuation of Tingitana probably led Diocletian to abandon western Caesariensis at this time, withdrawing the last post on the limes to Columnata (modern Waldeck Rousseau) and running the new limes north from this town along Oued Riou and the Chélif River to Quiza on the coast.¹⁵ Diocletian also was able to hold the line of the Limes Tripolitanus, re-organizing the region into two commands, each under a praepositus limitis who was responsible to the new dux provinciae Tripolitanae.¹⁶ He did, however, decide to abandon the whole area of eastern Tripolitania, which was only a coastal road maintaining land communications with Cyrenaica.¹⁷

Diocletian's reign, therefore, although greatly reducing the Roman frontiers in Africa, brought them into a much more advantageous position geographically for defence. By abandoning frontiers that were extremely difficult to maintain and by making the whole Roman area of domination more compact, Diocletian was able to leave his successors a more stable situation, which they were able to maintain until the time of the Arabic invasions in the seventh century. It is known that both the Byzantines and Vandals kept even the defensive line south of the

Aurès Range in operation.¹⁸ Although it is known that the Austurani breached the Limes Tripolitanus in A.D. 363-364 and attacked Lepcis and sacked Sabratha, the evidence of the Notitia Dignitatum seems to show that the line was maintained intact throughout the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.¹⁹ It was only with the revolt of Firmus in A.D. 372, and his brother Gildo in A.D. 397, a little before the arrival of the Vandals, that Caesariensis was lost to Roman control.²⁰

The consolidation of the frontiers under Diocletian seems to have been a stimulus of further building in the cities behind the limes. In fact, a study of the epigraphic evidence from this period shows a veritable renaissance in urban development under the Tetrarchy.²¹ Despite the ravages perpetrated by the armies of Maxentius on Cirta and Carthage, as well as on the surrounding countryside in the counter-coup of A.D. 311, the building in the towns a Proconsularis and Byzacena suffered only a small drop in ca. A.D. 310-360 and then recovered to an even larger scale at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.²² Numidia seems to have followed this pattern, although the building was not taking place on the same scale. Cities on the frontiers of Numidia continued to grow and expand. Timgad showed urban development throughout the Vandal period and under the Byzantine reconquest, when a large fort was built just south of the city, and even just before the Arab invasion when a large chapel was built in the city.²³ The same is true of Cuicul where large scale public building, including public basilicas, were taking place in the second half of the fourth century through the patronage of members of the local aristocracy.²⁴

The agricultural basis for this urban growth seems to have remained intact and highly productive right up to the time of the Arab invasions. There is a wealth of evidence on the presence of large estates during this period.²⁵ The Letters of Symmachus, which date to the last half of the fourth century, vividly depict the dependence of Rome and the cities of Italy on the African grain supply, which had now been reorganized under Diocletian.²⁶ The Tablettes Albertini discovered at Dj. Mrata on the Algerian-Tunisian border are further proof that the Roman system of agrarian organization and of estate development was still in force in a relatively remote area of North Africa after a half century of Vandal rule.²⁷ This same economic stability and expansion can also be seen in the other African cash-crop during this period, that of olives. The Expositio Totius Mundi, dating to the mid-fourth century or later, lists Africa as the leading producer of olives and olive oil in the Mediterranean world.²⁸ More dramatic is the evidence of a mid-fifth century inscription from Uppena on the coast of the Sahel. It describes a certain Dion who, during his long life of eighty years, planted four thousand olive trees in plantations in this region.²⁹

Thus, there is every reason, despite the withdrawal from the frontiers in the period A.D. 238-285, to believe that the economic development of the land in the regions behind the limes continued, and that the cities and urban growth also continued, at least on a modest scale, through the Vandal and Byzantine periods until the time of the Arab invasions.

FOOTNOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

[N.B. 1) All short titles and all articles referred to in the footnotes are given in full in the bibliography. For example:

Toutain, Cités = J. Toutain (Cités) Les Cités romaines de la Tunisie: Essai sur l'histoire de la colonisation romaine dans l'Afrique du Nord, Paris (BEFAR, LXXII) Librairie Thorin, 1896.

and,

Basset (1921) - H. Basset (1921) "Les Influences puniques chez les Berbères", RAF, LXIII, 1921, 340-374.

2) All journals and periodicals are abbreviated according to standard practice in Année Philologique where a key is provided.]

- AE Année épigraphique (published annually as a supplement to Revue archéologique until 1967. Since then a separate publication, ed. H. - G. Pflaum, Paris).
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Vol. VIII (Africa) unless otherwise stated. (In two parts and four supplements, plus three fascicles of indices, Berlin, 1881-1916).
- CPE Pflaum, H.-G., Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain (three volumes, plus one volum of tables) Inst. Français d'Archéol. de Beyrouth. Bibl. Archéol. et Hist. 57, 1960-1961.
- DE Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane (ed. E. Ruggiero) Rome, 1895 - (in progress).
- FHG Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum (ed. K. Müller) Scriptorum Graecorum Bibl., 5 volumes, Paris, 1842-1872).
- GGM Geographi Graeci Minores (ed. K. Müller) Scriptorum Graecorum Bibl., 2 volumes plus an atlas, Paris, 1855-1861.
- ILAfr. Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique: Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc (ed. R. Cagnat, A. Merlin and L. Chatelain) Paris, 1923.
- ILAlg. Inscriptions Latines d'Algérie
I: Inscriptions de la Proconsulaire (ed. S. Gsell) Paris, 1922.
II: Inscriptions de la Confédération Cirtéenne (ed. S. Gsell, préparées par E. Albertini et J. Zeiller, publ. par H.-G. Pflaum sous la dir. de L. Leschi) Paris, 1957.

- ILMar. Inscriptions Latines du Maroc (ed. L. Chatelain) Paris, 1942.
- ILS Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (ed. H. Dessau) three volumes
Berlin, 1892-1916 (reprint, Berlin, 1962).
- ILTun. Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie (ed. A. Merlin) Paris, 1944.
- IRT The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania (ed. J.M. Reynolds and
J.B. Ward Perkins, in collaboration with S. Aurigemma,
R. Bartoccini, G. Caputo, R. Goodchild and P. Romanelli)
The British School at Rome, 1952.
- MRR Broughton, T.R.S., The Magistrates of the Roman Republic (Two
volumes with a supplement) American Philological Association
Monographs XV, New York, 1951-1952 and 1960.
- PIR¹ Prosopographia Imperii Romani (ed. H. Dessau) Berlin, 1897-1898.
- PIR² Prosopographia Imperii Romani (second edition, ed. Petersen,
E. Groag and A. Stein) Berlin, 1933 - (in progress).
- RE Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopädie der Classischen Alter-
tumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1893- (in progress).

Chapter One

The African Origins

1. There seem to be three sources for the North African Neolithic:
(a) from the Sudan across the Sahara, which was more humid at that time, where the Neolithic phase seems to have an earlier date [Forde-Johnston (1959) 106 and Daniel (1967) 59],
(b) from the Nile Valley, especially the Fayum, from where it spread to Cyrenaica where domestic animals as the basis of the economy are found as early as the fifth millenium B.C. and from there to the Maghrib where it influenced the Upper Capsian [Daniel (1967) 60], and
(c) across the Mediterranean, a late fourth millenium development representing the Néolithique récent of French writers. [Daniel (1967) 61].
2. Camps, Massinissa, 59-66; the latter at sites in Algeria only.
3. Camps, Massinissa, 67-73.
4. Camps-Fabrer (1953) 10-12; Camps, Massinissa, 77-82.
5. Basset (1921) 348; Camps-Fabrer (1953) 12. The Berber "azemmour" is used for the wild olive, but the Semetic "zitoun" for the domestic olive.
6. Basset (1921) 348; Camps, Massinissa, 87. The Berber "azar" is used without exception across the entire Maghrib.
7. Herodotus IV. 181, 186, 191; Lake Triton had been identified with the Gulf of Gabes (Gsell), Chott el-Djerid (Camps), or further to the east near the island of Djerba (Tixeront (1959) 5-7].
8. Herodotus IV. 172-183, 195; Tixeront (1959) 5-6.
9. Herodotus IV. 198.
10. Periplus of Scylax, GGM, 85-87 (ss. 110); Hecataeus, FHG, I, 23, #305.
11. Hecataeus, FHG, I, 13-15; Camps, Massinissa, 52 for a list.
12. Periplus of Scylax, GGM, I (ss. 110 and 111); Camps, Massinissa, 53 for a list.
13. Camps, Massinissa, 166.

14. On the earliest archaeological evidence cf. Euzennat (1957) 41-64; on the sufetes cf. Camps (1960) 423-426.
15. Pliny NH., V. 1; they are outside of the Roman province of Proconsularis.
16. Livy XLII.23.
17. Appian Lib., 68.
18. Sallust Bell. Iug., 54.6; 87.1; for later references cf. Caesar Bell. Afr., II.6; III.1 and XX.4; Tactius Ann., III.74; and Apuleius Met., IX.31.1.
19. Gsell, HAAN, V. 275.
20. Raids in 193 B.C., Livy XXXIV.62; occupation in 162 B.C., Polybius XXX.21.
21. Livy XLII.23-24.
22. Camps, Massinissa, 169-170 (IG XI.1115 and 1116, Delos).
23. Livy XLII.62; XLIII.6; Epit., L.
24. P. Février (1967b) 119.
25. Camps, Massinissa, 199-201 citing Ptolemy Evergetes, FHG III.187, No. 7.
26. Berthier and Charlier (1952) throughout, and Bouchenaki, "Recherches puniques en Algérie" in Barreca (1970) 66-67.
27. Berthier (1956) 147-153; Camps (1956) 155-203.
28. P. Fevrier (1967 b) 119.
29. Camps, Massinissa, 38 but cf. Daniel (1967) 61-62 concerning the dating of such megalithic complexes.
30. Gsell suggests that Philline in the list is to be located in the cork forests north of the Medjerda on the basis of the similarity of the Greek φελλός. (HAAN II.95). The Pithecusai of the lists may be the same as that of the pseudo-Scylax on the coast between Bone and Bizerte (GGM 85-87, 55.110). The other cities (Cintas (1961) suggests) Meschela, Acris and Mitine may be in the Kroumirie. (Meschela = modern Ras Engela).

31. Diodorus XX.57.
32. Camps, Massinissa, 177.
33. Camps, Massinissa, 178.
34. Ch.-Picard (1958) 28-30; Camps, Massinissa, 176.
35. Livy XLII, 23-24.
36. Appian Lib., 68.
37. Although Ch.-Picard (1958) could find no epigraphic evidence of such control J.G. Fevrier (1958) 137 points out that a stele was discovered 25 km. to the north of Mactar which had been set up by the order of Micipsa, son of Massinissa.
38. Diodorus XXIV (frag.); for identification of the Hecatompylus of Diodorus as Theveste cf. Gsell HAAN, II.95-96 based on a letter of Jerome. For the estimate of total population cf. Camps, Massinissa, 42.
39. Diodorus XXIV (frag.) mentions that the citizens offered Hanno an olive branch in a request for mercy but he may merely be reflecting the Greek custom.
40. Orosius Adversos paganos, IV.9.9; Gsell HAAN V.179-180 doubted that validity of the figures, especially of the cattle, but Camps, Massinissa, 39 proved them to be entirely possible.
41. Camps, Massinissa, 212-213 suggests (plausibly) that these centers may have been the centers of large imperial estates. Regiae (modern Arbal) in Caesariensis should probably be added to the list.
42. Apuleius Apol., 24.

Chapter Two

The Carthaginian Domination

1. Lixus was traditionally founded earlier than Gades (1110 B.C.) cf. Camps, Massinissa, 166. Tarradell has uncovered a spectacular urban center which developed in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. with temples, town walls and a vast residential area, cf. Moscati (1968) 123; Pliny NH., XIX.63.
2. Periplus of Scylax, GGM, I.92 (55.110). Cintas (1970) 180 ff.
3. The traditional date for the founding of Utica is 1101 B.C.; Vell. Pat. I. 2.4; Pliny NH., XVI.216; defended by Cintas (1970) 292.
4. Förrer (1953) 85-93; Frézouls (1955) 153 f.; it is clearly rejected by Cintas (1970) 5 ff.
5. Ch.-Picard and C.Ch.-Picard (1968) 121., note 25.
6. Vuillemot (1955) 7-76.
7. Moscati (1968) 122.
8. Mounir Bouchenaki, "Recherches puniques en Algérie", in Barreca (1970) 64; Baradez (1952) 15.
9. Warmington (1969) 34; Ponsich (1969) however, believes that coastal settlements in Morocco date to the seventh century B.C. and that even before the fifth century B.C. Punic influence was already a strong force in the interior.
10. Moscati (1968) 21-23 for the dates.
11. Justin XIX.1.
12. Maurin (1962) throughout.
13. Justin XIX.1.
14. The inscriptions discovered at Pyrgi date to ca. 500 B.C. and are a good indication of the extent of the Etrusco-Punic alliance, Moscati (1968) 119. Soon after, however, the Etruscans began to suffer major defeats at the hands of the Romans (who made a separate treaty with Carthage in 509 B.C.). Finally, Gelon crushed them in a sea battle in the Bay of Naples in 480 B.C.
15. That the Magonids took little further interest in Sicily as an area of expansionism is borne out by the fact that they took no advantage of the revolt in Sicily led by the nationalist Duce-tius to further their aims (461 B.C.).

16. Dio Chrysostom XXV.7. The passage reads in full:
 Καρχηδονίους δὲ Ἄννων μὲν ἀντὶ Τυρίων ἐποίησε
 Λίβυας, καὶ Λιβύην κατοικεῖν ἀντὶ φοινίκης, καὶ
 γρήματα πολλὰ κεντῆσθαι καὶ συχνὰ ἐμπορία καὶ
 λιμένας καὶ τριήρεις, καὶ πολλῆς μὲν γῆς, πολλῆς
 δὲ θαλάττης ἄρχειν.

17. Justin XIX.2.

18. Moscati (1968) 121; Cintas (1947) 1 ff.; Foucher (1964) 34 ff.
 A topheth is a sanctuary containing the remains of human
 sacrifices to Ba'al and Tanit. They are usually found at
 sites under Carthaginian control or heavily influenced by Punic
 religion and culture. They are significantly absent in the
 Tripolitanian cities (or not yet uncovered) and also missing
 at Utica, though one must remember that it was an earlier
 foundation and a long-standing rival.

19. Moscati (1968) 121. Further on Thapsus cf. Appian Lib., 94
 and Diodorus XX.17.

20. H. Fantar. "Récherches puniques en Tunisie", in Barreca (1970)
 86-88.

21. Neapolis: Thucydides VII.50; Lepti Minus: Polybius I.36
 (ca. 248 B.C.) and Appian Lib., 94 (second Punic War) - Punic
 control, though, must be much earlier than these references.

22. If this can be correctly inferred from the absence of a mention
 of Utica in the treaty which Carthage made with Rome in 509 B.C.,
 where as it is mentioned with Carthage in the treaty of 348 B.C.
 as well as in the treaty of 215 B.C. between Hannibal and Philip
 of Macedon. Warmington (1969) 65.

23. Diodorus Siculus XIII.80, and the first mention of Africans in
 the Carthaginian army, XI.1.5.

24. Diodorus Siculus XX.55.4 contains the important passage mention-
 ing the distinction between the Africans which were farmers - that
 is, the sedentary population under Carthaginian control, called
 Libyans (ὁ δὲ πολὺς λαὸς τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ἀρχαιοτάτος ὢν,
 Λίβυς ὠνομάζετο...) as opposed to the unsettled Africans
 outside Punic control who still inhabited half of "Africa"
 (=modern Tunisia) called Nomades
 For the tax, already imposed in the time Diodorus is writing
 of (ca. 400 B.C...μισῶν διαφερόντως τοὺς Καρχηδονίους
 διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς ἐπιστάσιος...) see the later evidence of
 Polybius I.72.

25. Diodorus Siculus XX.8.3-5; 13.3 and 69.5.
26. Diodorus Siculus XX.17.6; Appian Lib., 3; Polybius I.29.7. There are other figures for the number of towns captured during Regulus' invasion, in Orosius IV.8.16 (82 oppida) and Eutropius II. 21.3 (74 civitates) and Florus I.18.19 and Orosius IV.8.8 speak of more than three hundred castella destroyed by the Romans at this time.
27. This trench is mentioned by Eumachus, FHG, 102. No. 2; it logically antedates the finis imperii and the mentions by Appian listed below in notes 28 and 29.
28. Nepos Hamilcar II.5: Orosius Adversus paganos, IV.9.9.
29. Appian Lib., 54.
30. Diodorus Siculus XXIV (frag.).
31. Appian Lib., 34, 54 and 59.
32. For the revolt cf. Polybius I.70-79.
33. Periplus of Scylax, GGM I, 55.110-111; cf. Camps, Massinissa, 53 for the list.
34. Dorieus was then driven off with the assistance of a local tribe, the Makes (Herodotus V.42.3); di Vita (1969) 196-202 postulates a seventh century origin for both Sabratha and Lepcis based on this passage in Herodotus plus IV.178-179 and the fact that Rome was excluded from trade in this area in the treaty of 509 B.C.
35. Moscati (1968).
36. Strabo XVII.3.18.
37. There may have been chariot routes though this is doubtful. The Garamantes were in possession of four-horse chariots at least by the mid-fifth century B.C. (reported by Herodotus IV.183); they are known from rock paintings in the Fezzan and the Tassili Ajjer further to the south. They may be related to the one-hundred chariots given to the Libyans by Rameses III in the twelfth century B.C. cf. Bates (1916) 159.
38. Warmington (1969) 63 - though this is now in question.
39. Ch.-Picard (1964) 91.
40. Diodorus Siculus V.20; Ch.-Picard (1964) 109-110.
41. Herodotus IV.196; Ch.-Picard (1964) 91.

42. Periplus of Hanno, GGM I.114; it claims that 30,000 colonists were sent on the journey - surely an impossible figure if the number of ships is correct. Perhaps only three-thousand went, that is, fifty to each vessel with all their possessions. For further commentary cf. Carcopino (1943) 73-116 and Germain (1957) 205-248 which has a full bibliography on the subject.
43. From Cerne, depending on the interpretation, Hanno made two further voyages of exploration sailing as far south as Sierra Leone or perhaps even to the Bight of Benin (highly questionable).
- 43a. Ponsich (1967) thinks that he has discovered one of the ports which was settled by Hanno.
44. The greatest amount of pottery comes from the third century B.C. cf. Cintas (1949) 263 ff.
45. Moscati (1968) 122-123.
46. Villard (1959) 7-13.
47. P. Février (1967 b) 116.
48. Villard (1960) 1-26.
49. Charlier and Berthier (1955) and M. Bouchenaki, "Recherches Puniques en Algérie" in Barreca (1970) 69.
50. P. Février (1967 b) 119-122.
51. M. Bouchenaki, "Recherches Puniques en Algérie" in Barreca (1970) 62.

Chapter Three

The Advent of the Romans: From the Conquest of the Julio-Claudians

1. Appian Lib., 135.
2. Strabo XVII.3.16.
3. Appian Lib., 135.
4. Known from the terms of the Lex Agraria of 111 B.C. (text in Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani (2nd ed., ed. Ricco bono) VIII, 79 ff.). The cities named are Tampsus (Thapsus), Leptis (Lepti Minus), Aquilla (Acholla), Usalis (Usali) and Teudalis (Theudalis).
5. Pliny NH., 25; Broughton, Romanization, 14-15; Saumagne (1928) 451-459.
6. Sallust Bell. Iug., 104.1; Cicero in Verr., II.1.70; Val. Max. IX. 10.2; Orosius V.20.
7. Broughton, Romanization, 17, note 25; Ch.-Picard (1958) 25.
8. Appian Lib., 135; Bell. Civ., 24 and 104.
9. ILTun. 892; Lex Agraria, 55.36
10. Was the land made available for the Gracchan schemes by the plague of 125-124 B.C. which reportedly killed 200,000 Africans? (orosiuss V. 11; Livy Epit., 60). It would have, at least brought their attention to empty land-holds in Africa. Lex Agraria ss. 60-61 seems to imply that more than the allotted number made their way to Africa.
11. For the text cf. note 4 supra.
12. Lex Agraria ss. 46, 48 and 80.
13. Lex Agraria ss. 83-89; Cicero Pro Balb., 18.41 suggests that some Afri who had lost their land but still paid a stipendium had been given Roman citizenship.
14. cf. Chap. I. p. 6.
15. Vaga, cf. Sallust Bell. Iug., 47. 1; Cirta, Bell. Iug., 26.1-3; 22.2.
16. Appian Lib., 92.

17. Leglay (1966a) 72. In the opinion of Gsell, HAAN, IV. 382 and 393, the stele-hoard found at Thuburnica in the compound of Saturn was there before the end of the Second Punic War. It contained four Greek inscriptions to the Punic goddess Tanit, among which were those by an Ἀγῆμων (CIL 25737), a Τ. Σαλλουστῆλος (CIL 25739), and a Διφιλός who was ἀρχάρχοντος (sufes?) CIL 25736. cf. Theiling (1911) 38, #43.
18. De vir. ill.; 73.1
- 18a. AE 1951: 81; I follow the interpretation of Quoniam (1950) 332-336 that Marius did not found coloniae as opposed to Teutsch, Städtewesen, 14-18.
19. For the epithets: Thibaris, municipium Marianum Thibaritanorum (CIL 26181=ILS 6790, dates to A.D. 287-290); resp(ublica) munic[ipi] Mariani Thibaritanorum pag(us) Thibaritanus (CIL 26179, 26180, 26185). Uchi Maius, res publica coloniae Marianae Augustae Alexandrianae Uchitanorum Maiorum (CIL 15450, 15455, 26270, 26275, A.D. 230).
20. Teutsch, Städtewesen, 26. For an analysis of the Mariani in Africa cf. Gascou (1969) 556-568.
21. Found by Tenney Frank in Caesar's forum at Rome, cf. AJPh, LVIII, 1937, 90-93; A. Degrassi, Inscriptiones Italiae, XIII, fasc. 3 Rome, 1937, 13 f. No. 7; and Broughton, AJA, III, 1948, 329 and MRR I. 577.
22. Plutarch Marius, 40.14.
23. Pliny NH., V.29; Wilson (1966) 13-18.
24. Carpis: col(onia) Iulia Carpitana (CIL 25471=ILS 6782); colony of Octavian or Caesar, cf. Teutsch, Städtewesen, 113 and 160; CIL 24106=ILS 9367
 Clupea: CIL X 6104=ILS 1945, cf. Teutsch, Städtewesen, 112.
 Curubis: col(onia) Iulia Curubis (CIL 980, 24100)
 Neapolis: col(onia) Iul(ia) Neap(olis) (CIL 968, A.D. 282-283) cf. Teutsch, Städtewesen, 88.
25. At Curubis cf. CIL I² 780 = ILS 5319 (while Caesar was cos. IV) and cf. the Cn. Domitius Malchio who was IIvir qq. at this same city in 20 B.C. (CIL 978); at Carpis cf. CIL 24106 = ILS 9367, he was q(uaestor) pro pr(aetore) of Africa Vetus in 43-42 B.C.
26. CIL 14697=ILS 2249; ILAfr. 471=AE 1919; 29 and ILAfr. 472=AE 1921: 20.
27. Teutsch, Städtewesen, 118-119.
28. CIL 26274=ILTun. 1370 (Uchi Maius), CIL X 6104=ILS 1945 (Formaie).

29. Appian Lib., 136; cf. Gsell, HAAN., VIII.174 f; Gsell (1927) 228-229 and 238 thinks a deductio must have been made before the governorship of Lepidus (40-36 B.C.) based on Dio LII.43.1. Certainly there must have been a colony under the governorship of T. Sextius (42 B.C.) when L. Pomponius Malchio held the post of aedile at Carthage (CIL X 6104, Formiae). Still, there is no conclusive evidence to indicate a deductio as early as 44 B.C., but cf. Broughton, Romanization, 56 for another view (Dio XLIII.50).
30. Appian Bell. Civ. IV. 54. 230-234; Cassius Dio XLIII.3.
31. cf. Teutsch, Städtewesen, 64 and map.
32. cf. Heurgon (1957) throughout.
33. Plutarch Caesar, 57 and Strabo XVII.3.15.
34. Appian Bell. Civ. V.67.
35. Plutarch Caesar, 55.
36. Caesar Bell. Afr., 97.3; Haywood (1941) 246-256 and Townsend (1940) 274-283.
37. Caesar Bell. Afr., 97.3
38. Caesar Bell. Afr., 90 (trans. of Jane F. Mitchell, The Civil War, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967, p. 259).
39. Appian Lib., 136; Cassius Dio LII.43.
40. Romanelli, Storia, 139.
- 40a. Perhaps Augustus had initially thought of forming the kingdom into a new Roman province, but later abandoned this idea as unfeasible. cf. Weinstock (1930) col. 2371.
41. Pliny NH., V.20. Teutsch, Städtewesen, 194 records evidence of later use of this same site as a stronghold by pirates.
42. CIL 20683=ILS 649; CIL 8931=662; and CIL 8933.
43. CIL 8837=ILS 6103; AE 1934; 39; Pliny NH., V.21.
44. AE 1921:16; Pliny NH., V.20.
45. Salama (1955b); Pliny NH., V.20.
46. Pliny NH., V.21.

47. Gunugu: Pliny NH., V.20; Cartenna: Pliny NH., V.20, CIL 9663.
48. CIL 21510 (Ténès)
49. Pliny NH., V.5: AE 1941:79, A.D. 75.
50. Uthina: IL Afr. 301=ILS 9400 (A.D. 205-206)
51. IL Afr. 301=ILS 9400 (A.D. 205-206).
52. CIL 885=12387=ILS 6803 (dedication to Julia Domna).
53. For the tribes consult Desanges (1962) maps and Camps, Massinissa, fig. 27.
54. Daniels (1969) 20, note 22; Desanges (1957) 43.
55. Passienus Rufus, cf. Vell. Pat., II. 116 and CIL 16456, and for Sulpicius Quirinus cf. Desanges (1969) 211.
56. Desanges (1969) 198-207; as in the case of Sulpicius Quirinus, he had the use of troops from outside the province.
57. CIL 10023=AE 1905; 177; IRT 930.
58. Carcopino (1933) supposes a second capital city at Volubilis.
59. Romanelli, Storia, 169.
60. Desanges (1957) 43; Cassius Dio LV.28.3; the last in A.D. 6 was handled by Cossus Cornelius Lentulus who had his term as proconsul prorogued by Augustus especially for this purpose. It seems as though his efforts were successful to judge from Juba II's commemorative coins: Desanges (1969) 211, note 4. Mazard, Corpus, p. 89, #196, #197. Of course, the mere existence of Ptolemy's puppet regime at Caesarea must have been part of the incentive to revolt. Even some Romans were disapproving -- the historian Tacitus brands Ptolemy as a iuventa incuriosus and as a youth dominated by his slaves and freedman, a most reprehensible trait in the eyes of Tacitus (Tacitus Hist., IV.23).
61. Desanges (1964 a) 43 plus map.
62. For commentary cf. Romanelli (1951) 71-79; for the inscription see IRT 346=AE 1952:232 and Thomasson, Statthalter, II.19.
63. Caillemer (1959) map 1.
64. Ptolemy IV.3.6.

65. Tacitus Ann., III.32.
66. Bartoccini (1958) 5; Law (1967) 191; Tacitus Ann., IV.23.
67. Tacitus Ann., III.73-74.
68. Syme (1951) 113-116.
69. Bartoccini (1958) 7; the text of Tacitus is faulty at this point and names two cities which are not otherwise known: Thubuscum and Auzea. Auzea must be the same as the Roman Auzia (modern Aumale in Algeria). This seems to be far away from the theater of the war, but since Ptolemy gave Mauretanian officers to help in the capture and was later rewarded for his services, Auzea is likely to have been within the borders of his kingdom (Tacitus Ann., III. 73-74 and IV.26).
70. Tacitus Ann., III.73.
71. CIL 14386(=10568); cf. Romanelli, Storia, 243.
72. Romanelli, Storia, 243.
73. Syme (1951) 122; ILS 2721.
74. Law (1967) 191; Tacitus Ann., IV.23.
75. IRT 330a and 330b=AE 1948: 1.
76. Kotula (1962) 164; IL Afr. 558.
77. Ch.-Picard (1958) 25.
78. Kotula (1962) 163; ILS 162=CIL 685 (=10492) Mograwa.
79. On the whole question of the switch in power and the conflicts it created with the provincial governor cf. Tacitus Hist., IV.48; Crassius Dio LIX.20.7 and Romanelli, Storia, 249.
80. Suetonius Calig., 26 and 35. Hoffmann and Zeigler (1959) 1780-1783 suggest that the execution of the king may have been on a charge of maiestus because of his wearing of a purple cloak otherwise reserved for the emperors. Ptolemy may have been executed because of his involvement in the conspiracy of Gaetulicus; cf. D. Fishwick, "The Annexation of Mauretania", Historia, XX, 1971 (forthcoming)
81. Cassius Dio LX.8; Pliny NH, V.1.11. For the distinction between the revolt under Aedemon and the later tribal rebellion cf. D. Fishwick, ibid.
82. Elements of IV Macedonia, VI Victrix and X Gemina crossed from Spain to aid the army already in western Mauretania (Romanelli, Storia, 259). Chappelle (1934) 111, claims that X Gemina left

traces of its occupation at 'Aïn Temouchent and at Volubilis. An inscription from Celeia in Noricum mentions auxiliariorum tempore expeditionis in Tingitanum missorum of whom T. Varius Clemens was praefectus [Weilleumier (1926) 325]. For the campaigns cf. Pliny NH. V.14-16; Cassius Dio LX.9.1; Chapelle (1934) 107-110 and Romanelli, Storia, 263. For Clemens career cf. CPE, #156.

83. Suetonius Galba, 7-8; Plutarch Galba, 3 and Tacitus Hist., I.49. He may have made use of religion as a tactic for delegitimizing Aedemon's use of Mauretanian nationalism, cf. Leglay (1966b) 635-637; for Castra Galba cf. Romanelli, Storia, 265.
84. For Volubilis cf. ILMar. 116.
85. On the difficulty of crossing the Moulouya cf. Chapelle (1934) 113. Desanges (1960) 437-441 correctly points out that there was never any road across this wilderness as some have postulated. The division of the Mauretaniae probably took place in A.D. 43. D. Fishwick, "The Annexation of Mauretania", Historia, XX, 1971 (Forthcoming).
86. Suetonius Claudius, 18-20.
87. Ch.-Picard (1956) 167; Pliny N.H., XVIII.35; Carcopino identifies two of these as Domitia Lepida who was imprisoned in A.D. 59 (PIR² III.171) and Rubellius Plautus who died in A.D. 62 (PIR¹ III.85).
88. CIL 25943, 5383=ILAlg. I 324; 5384(=17500)=ILAlg. I 323.
89. Carcopino (1922) 14.
90. Birley (1962) 211, No. 7 notes that Groag (PIR², C 1605) suggested this possibility, but felt that his proconsulship (cos. suff. A.D. 55) would have fallen early in the Flavian period. Birley, however thinks that the late Neronian period (ca. 67-68 A.D.) would be more appropriate.
91. Ch.-Picard, Civilisation, 64-65.
92. Ch.-Picard, Civilisation, 49: e.g. the Thuburnica-Thugga-Agbia road was bordered by small estates all along its eleven kilometer length. Mactar, further to the south, was bordered by Mididi (14 km. S.W.), Chusira (16 km. S.E.), Thigibba (10 km. N.W.), Civitas A... (10 km. N) and Uzappa (14 km. N.E.) which means that the maximum area attached to this important center did not exceed 100 km.²

93. Africa had earlier supplied only one-third of Rome's needs -- this amount came to about 40,000,000 modii per annum as we are informed by Josephus Bell. Iud., II.383, cf. Haywood (1938) 42-43. This rose to two-thirds of Rome's total needs under Nero, cf. Ch.-Picard (1956) 164 and 168; also, Rostovzteff (1910) col. 129 and 132-137.
94. Plutarch Galba, 6; for the coins cf. Thomasson, Statthalter, sv. "Clodius Macer". Also, according to Tacitus, Clodius' revolt had been instigated by Calvia Crispinilla ("Nero's tutor in vice"); part of her plan was to deprive Rome of its grain supply which would require the co-operation of Macer in Africa. Tacitus Hist., I.73. For Macer cf. PIR² c. 1170; for Calvia Crispinilla PIR² C. 363.
95. He had nineteen cohorts, five cavalry wings and a large force of Maurian auxiliaries under his command, Tacitus Hist., II.58.
96. Broughton, Romanization, 95; Ch.-Picard, Civilisation, 185.

Chapter Four

Africa Romana: From the Flavians to the Severi

1. Earlier, during his governorship of Africa, Vespasian had been pelted with turnips by the inhabitants of Hadrumetum (Suetonius Vesp., 4.3). Tacitus also implies that his governorship was not too well received (Tacitus Hist., II.97.2 ... famosum invisumque Vespasianus egerat.)
2. Tacitus Hist., IV.38.
3. Leglay (1968) 213.
4. Quintilian V.13.48; X.1.119; XII.10.11.
5. Knox-McElderry (1913) 123; CIL 5866 (Siga) cf. 21195.
6. Romanelli, Storia, 295; known from Statius Silv. I.4.83 ff.; CIL V 6990.
7. Haywood (1938) 38.
8. Romanelli, Storia, 297; Lyons was the only other provincial city to have such a garrison, the cohors I Urbana. This was done presumeably to avoid another of the weaknesses made clear by the events of A.D. 69-70, the discord between the provincial governor and the commander of the legionary forces. In A.D. 70 the governor L. Calpurnius Piso, an appointee of Galba, as murdered in a quarrel with the pro-Vitellian commander of the III Augusta legion, Valerius Festus (Tacitus Hist., IV.48-50).
9. Tacitus Hist., IV.50.
10. Pliny N.H., V.38; Law (1967) 191.
11. Tacitus Hist., IV.50; Law (1967) 191.
12. Pliny N.H., V.26. and 34-36.
13. Ptolemy I.8.4; Leglay (1968) 216; Desanges (1964b) 713-725.
14. Leglay (1968) 215-218.
15. Leglay (1968) 218.

16. Leschi (1953b) 190-197; the inscription reads in part ...leg(io) III Augusta muros et castra a solo fecit, cf. Leglay (1968) 218.
17. Leglay (1968) 219; perhaps Palmyrian archers were also introduced to Africa in the Flavian era.
18. Cheesman (1914) 164-166; 183-184. Other Flavian creations in Africa were the cohors I Flavia Afrorum, I Flavia Numidarum (found in Lycia), II Flavia Numidarum (in Dacia), and Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (in Moesia Inferior).
19. ILAlg. I 2152, cf. Leglay (1968) 122.
20. Leglay (1968) 122.
21. CIL 22172=ILAlg. I 3950; CIL 10119=ILAlg. I 3885.
22. A recently discovered inscription (Libyca, II, 1954, 376) mentions a road in this region over the Alpes Numidicae.
23. His full name was C. Tullius Capito Pomponianus Plotius Firmus, cf. PIR² III. 271 and Thomasson, Statthalter, II, 156.
24. AE 1942-1943: 35.
25. Leglay (1968) 225.
26. AE 1940: 70; IRT 894. There is a possibility that the man's name was Septimius Flaccus rather than Suellius Flaccus, cf. Birley, H.-A. Coll. Bonn 1968-1969, p. 66 and that he was an early relation of the Severi at Lepcis Magna; this interpretation seems a bit strained though.
27. Leglay (1968) 229; Pliny N.H., XVIII.22 and 51-52.
28. Christofle (1930) throughout.
29. Leglay (1968) 229.
30. Camps-Fabrer (1953) end-map; Ammaedara -- within the triangle, was probably settled and all the land centuriated at this time, cf. Chevallier (1962) 413-415; also Tacitus Ann., III.21 for the emeriti settled at nearby Thala.
31. Cagnat (1915) 261; cf. Statius Silv., III.3.90.
32. Leglay (1968) 231.

33. Probably the occasion of his thirteenth imperatorial acclamation, Romanelli, Storia, 302-303.
34. The two Mauretaniae were probably joined under a single command as they had been previously in A.D. 75 under Vespasian (cf. Thomasson, Statthalter, sv. "Caecilianus"). ILS 9200. Before this command he had been in charge of vexillationes on the Rhine -- presumeably dating to the time of Domitian's actions in this region. For C. Velius Rufus cf. Thomasson, Statthalter, II.245 n. 10 where he deals with the problems.
35. Thouvenot (1952) 192-197.
36. Camps-Fabrer (1953) 76 and end-map.
37. P. Février (1968) 11 cf. AE 1941: 175.
38. Vespasian's re-organization of the Syrian frontier and Domitian's actions north of the Agri Decumates and in the Taunus salient in Germany are examples of this policy elsewhere in the empire.
39. Dated from an inscription on the arch at the western gate: CIL 17842(=2355) and 17843. In addition, an inscription of A.D. 101 mentions him as "conditor coloniae" (CIL 17841).
40. Saumagne (1933) throughout.
41. CIL 10186, 10210.
42. Indicated by the positions of the eastern and western gates built under his reign: CIL 2364 (A.D. 166-169).
43. Courtois (1951) 19.
44. CIL 2478(-17969); 2479(=17971); 22348 ff. and 22796.
45. CIL 28073a(=4676)=ILAlg. I 2828; 28074=ILAlg. I 2080; 28073b=ILAlg. I 2829; for the imperial estates cf. ILAlg. I 2988 and 2939 bis and for a private estate ILTun. 1653.
46. ILAlg. I 2978; AE 1904: 144.
47. Romanelli, Storia, 317; around Tibubuci cf. CIL 22763a.
48. In the tribu Papiria: ILAlg. I p. 286 f.
49. CIL 22786a, 22787, 22788, 11051, 22763a; for similar cadastration around the Theveste-Kairouan area: CIL 21978.

50. IRT 353, 523, and 537; plus 352 (A.D. 101-102).
51. Ch.-Picard, Civilisation, 191.
52. Romanelli, Storia, 325 dates it A.D. 115=117 because of Trajan's title Parthicus.
53. Dedicated by the proconsul and his sons in A.D. 113; ILAlg. I 7230-7232.
54. AE 1911: 125.
55. SHA Hadrian, V.2: was this linked with his murder of Lusius Quietus?
56. AE 1911: 108; Seston (1928) 150-155; the campaign probably extended to Tingitana where it ended at the same time as is shown by the granting of military diplomata at this time: Thouvenot (1949) 336-340.
57. AE 1913: 157, under the procurator L. Seius Avitus; cf. CPE, vol. II 1096.
58. SHA Hadrian, XII.7; Juvenal IXV.196; Nesselhauf (1950) 40-42.
59. Between A.D. 122-124, CIL 20833.
60. AE 1950: 58; Baradez (1949a) 100-107.
61. CIL 26416; 14464(=10570); and 25943,
62. CIL 10296, 10322, 22370, 10355, 10363, 22404, and 22406.
63. Under Trajan: CIL 14560-14563, 22199(=10960), 22200-22203.
64. CIL 17160=ILAlg. I 1333; CIL 14654 f. and 25634 f.; Ward-Perkins (1951) 89-92.
65. Romanelli, Storia, 347.
66. CIL 8369.
67. Regiae (CIL 21663); Lemellef-Equizeto (CIL 8813 ff.).
68. Haywood (1938) 46.
69. Temple (CIL 22691, A.D. 162); forum (CIL 22710, A.D. 166).
70. cf. Charts 1 and 2.

71. SHA Vita Antonin., IX.2; Aurelius Victor De Caes., XVI.12.
72. Baradez (1954) 89.
73. Romanelli, Storia, 352-354; Gsell and Carcopino (1931) have a good account of the inscription of Sulpicus Felix at Sala, which gives a good description of town life at this time.
74. Baradez (1954) 115-116.
75. Romanelli, Storia, 355.
76. CIL 10327-10328, 22391.
77. CIL 14570-14587; 25636 ff.
78. Hr. el Begar (CIL 11451[=270]); Bordj-Medjana (=Mediana Zabuniorum) CIL 8810.
79. Thouvenot (1939) 20 ff.
80. Romanelli, Storia, 370; for Rapidum cf. CIL 20834-20835.
81. Romanelli (1962) 1350-1355.
82. cf. Charts 6 and 7.
83. CIL 15513(=1471); IL Afr. 555; CIL 26528=ILTun. 1405; CIL 26530-26533=IL Afr. 523; Ch.-Picard, Civilisation, 191-193.
84. Romanelli, Storia, 376.
85. Calama: CIL 5327=IL Alg. I 342; 5328=IL Alg. I 241; Thibilis: CIL 5525. Burrus was consul in A.D. 181 with Commodus but was murdered in the following year on suspicion of conspiracy.
86. CIL 14852.
87. Romanelli (1962) 1360 ff.; Frézouls, CRAI, 1952, 395; CIL VI 1800, SHA Commod., 13.5.
88. CIL 22629, 20816.
89. CIL 11048; ILTun. 58 and IL Afr. 26 cf. Hammond (1967) 9.
90. CIL 22540.
91. CIL 10570=14464; 14451 (Aïn Zaga).

92. CIL 10307 (A.D. 186).
93. SHA Commod., 17.7.
94. Romanelli, Storia, 431; IRT 427, 428, 398a and 396.
95. Ward Perkins (1948) throughout.
96. Leglay (1955).
97. P. Février (1968) 11-17.
98. AE 1911: 106.
99. Ibid.
100. Salama (1953) 237-240.
101. Salama (1955a) 329-330; CIL 9827-9828 (A.D. 201).
102. CIL 9831, 9833, 21721=10949, AE 1920: 27.
103. CIL 9228.
104. Pouthier (1956) 210 ff.
105. Ch.-Picard, Castellum Dimmidi, Paris, 1947, 145 ff.
106. Leschi (1957) 75-76; AE 1946: 38.
107. Baradez (1949a) 150 ff. and 200 ff.; however, E. Birley, "Hadrianic Frontier Policy", Carnuntina: Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich, Band III (ed. Swoboda) Böhlau, Graz-Köln, 1956, 25-33 thinks that this line and the concept of the limitanei were a Hadrianic development.
108. IRT 913-916; IL Afr., 9; Goodchild (1954) 56-60; Goodchild and Ward Perkins (1949) 81-85; (1950) 30 ff.; N. Hammond (1967) 3 and 16.
109. Romanelli, Storia, 399-400.
110. N. Hammond (1967) 3.
111. Vita (1964) 65 ff. believes that the limitanei in this area were also a Hadrianic development. He also thinks that the majority of the population of the Gebel in these settlements were Punic or at least Punicized Africans. SHA Sept. Sev., 18.3.

- 112. Pflaum (1957) 61-75.
- 113. Carcopino (1918) 5 ff.
- 114. P. Février (1964) 38-44.
- 115. CIL 8426.
- 116. Romanelli, Storia, 423.
- 117. AE 1918: 68 (A.D. 227).
- 118. Romanelli, Storia, 443.
- 119. P. Février (1964) 42.

Chapter Five

The End of Roman Africa

1. For a more detailed account cf. Kotula (1959).
2. Ch.-Picard, Karthago, V, 1954, 212.
3. Herodian VII.9; SHA Gordiani Tres, 15.1. and SHA Maximinus, 19. Neither source explicitly states that he was legate of the legion but this was probably the case.
4. cf. CIL 2170 (Theveste) for the dedication to L. Aemilius Severinus on his tombstone. He gave up his life pro amore Romano (the title conferred upon Gordian I)...ab hoc Capeliano captus.
5. SHA Gordiani Tres, 23.4; the commander of Caesariensis may have been the procurator M. Ulpus Victor (cf. ILAfr. 614).
6. Ch.-Picard (1947) 155 ff.; the work on this line carried out under Alexander Severus is shown by extensive alterations at Castellum Dimmidi itself (Ch.-Picard, ibid., inscrps. 1-2, 8-9, 22-25) and also at Aïn Sultana (CIL 8781=18017) and further north cf. Carcopino (1925) 45 ff.
7. Castellum Vanarzanense, Lemellef and a certain Kast. Thib... CIL 20487, 20602, AE 1903: 94 all show reconstructions under Flaontius Restitutianus. Also at Castellum Cellense (CIL 8777); all these seem to date to ca. A.D. 243.
- 7a. cf. Gautier (1952) 113-200 for a full consideration of the influence of the introduction of the camel into desert warfare and its effect on the limes defence-systems.
8. ILAfr. 609-610 (Oct. A.D. 277 under Probus).
9. Carcopino (1943) 231-304; Courtois (1955) 89 ff; Seeck (1876), Tingitana 55.XXVI, pp. 177-178, omitted among the Vicarii (55.XX) pp. 165-166 and the Duces (55.XXX-XXXI) pp. 184-187.
10. Courtois (1955) 118.
11. CIL 8924 (Saldae) and 9324 (Caesarea); cf. Courtois (1955) 119 plus map. For the disturbances of A.D. 254 cf. Romanelli, Storia, 474 f. for details. Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage at the time and had to supervise the collection of one hundred thousand sesterces in order to ransom Christians who were being held captive by the insurgents (Cyprianus Epist., LXII).

12. CIL 20215.
13. Romanelli, Storia, 502 ff.
14. cf. AE 1912: 24, under the governor Flavius Pecuaris (CIL 8474).
15. Courtois (1955) 81-84, 88.
16. Courtois (1955) 71.
17. Courtois (1955) 71-72.
18. Courtois (1955) 69.
19. Courtois (1955) 78 ff.
20. Courtois (1955) 125 ff.; they based their revolts on support from the Berber tribesmen in the Djurdjura.
21. Warmington, Provinces, Chart p. 33.
22. Aurelius Victor De Caes., XL.19 and 28.
23. Courtois (1951) 20.
24. P. Février (1968) 19.
25. Warmington, Provinces, 60-65.
26. Warmington, Provinces, 59.
27. Courtois (1955) 112 ff.
28. Warmington, Provinces, 58.
29. ILTun., 243.

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CHARTS

CHART 1: Rate of Construction according to Romanelli, Storia

	T.	H.	A.P.	M.A.	Com.	S.S.	Car.	S.A.	G. III
Curiae	4	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
Temples	4	11	7	13	2	19	11	3	4
Capitolia	2	-	1	4	1	2	3	1	1
Arches	3	5	4	2	6	8	2	2	2
Theatres	1	-	2	2	-	2	-	-	-
Fora/Buildings	4	3	3	3	6	5	3	4	2
Amphitheatres	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-
Baths	2	1	1	-	3	6	1	-	-
Others	-	4	12	24	9	27	10	0	0
Total	20	24	32	51	28	70	30	10	9

Chart 2: Building in Africa according to the survey of Chart 1

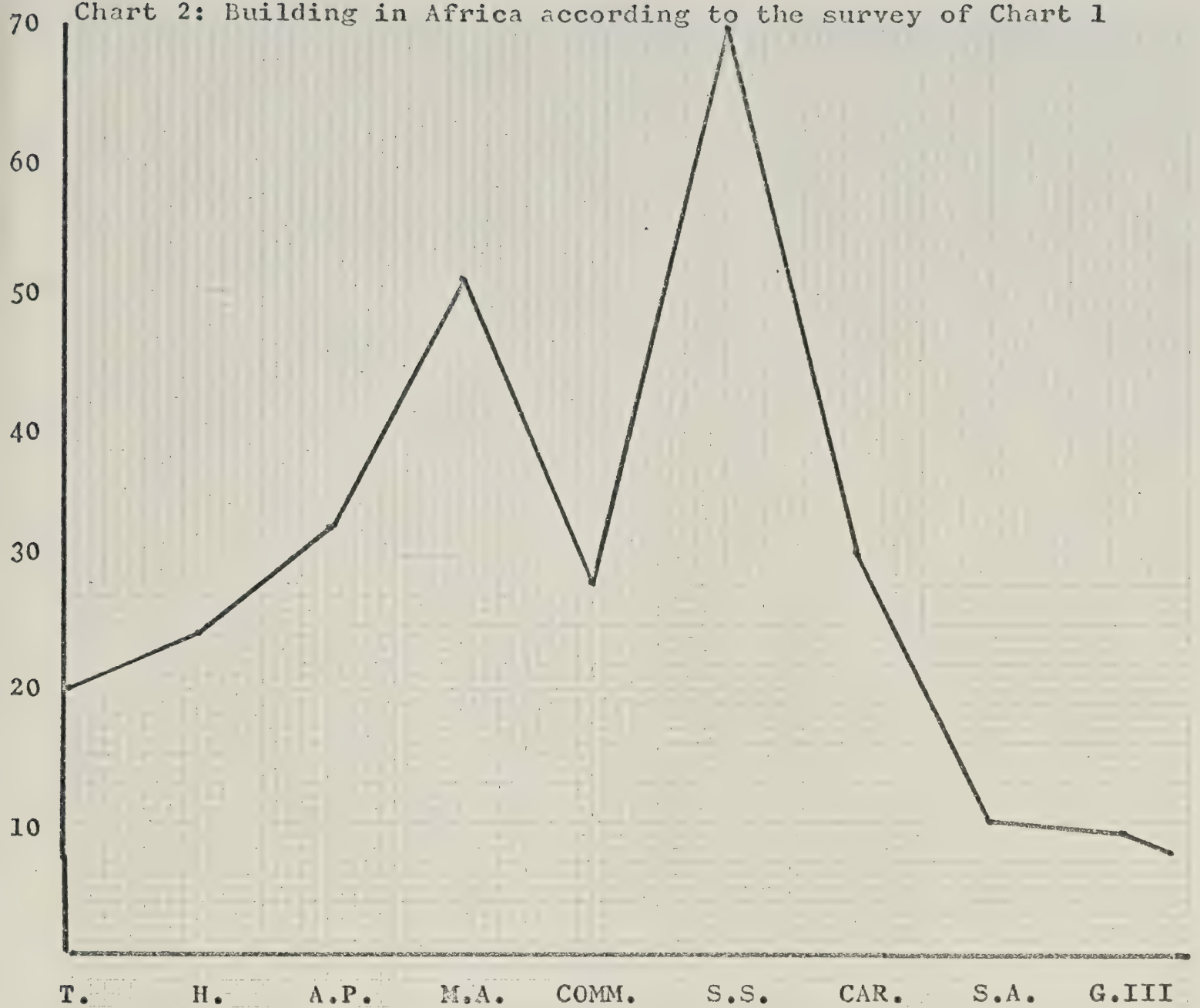


Chart 3: Percentage African Recruitment for Civil Service (Jarrett (1962) 220)

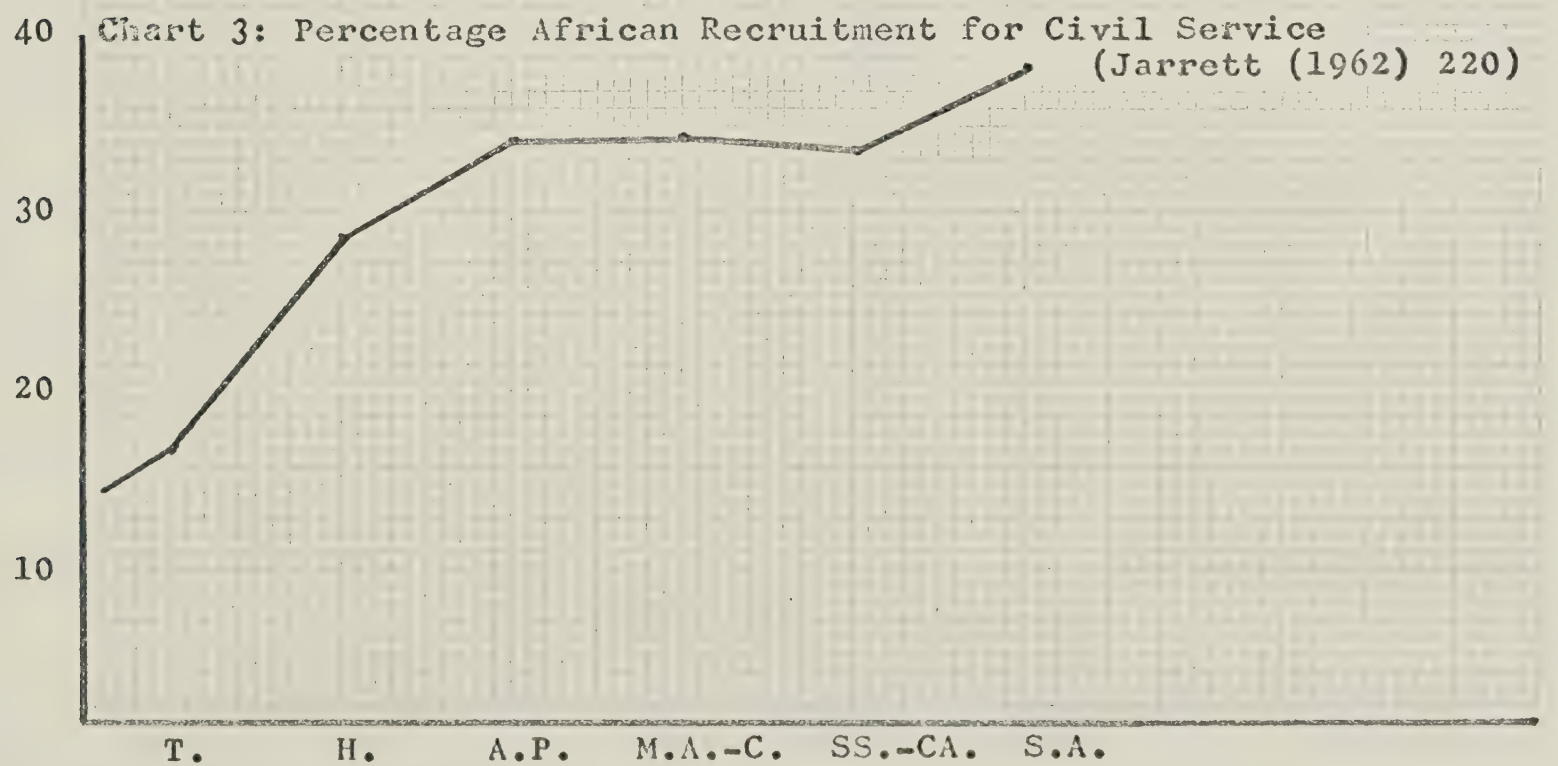


Chart 4: Number of African Senators

(Hammond (1957) 77)

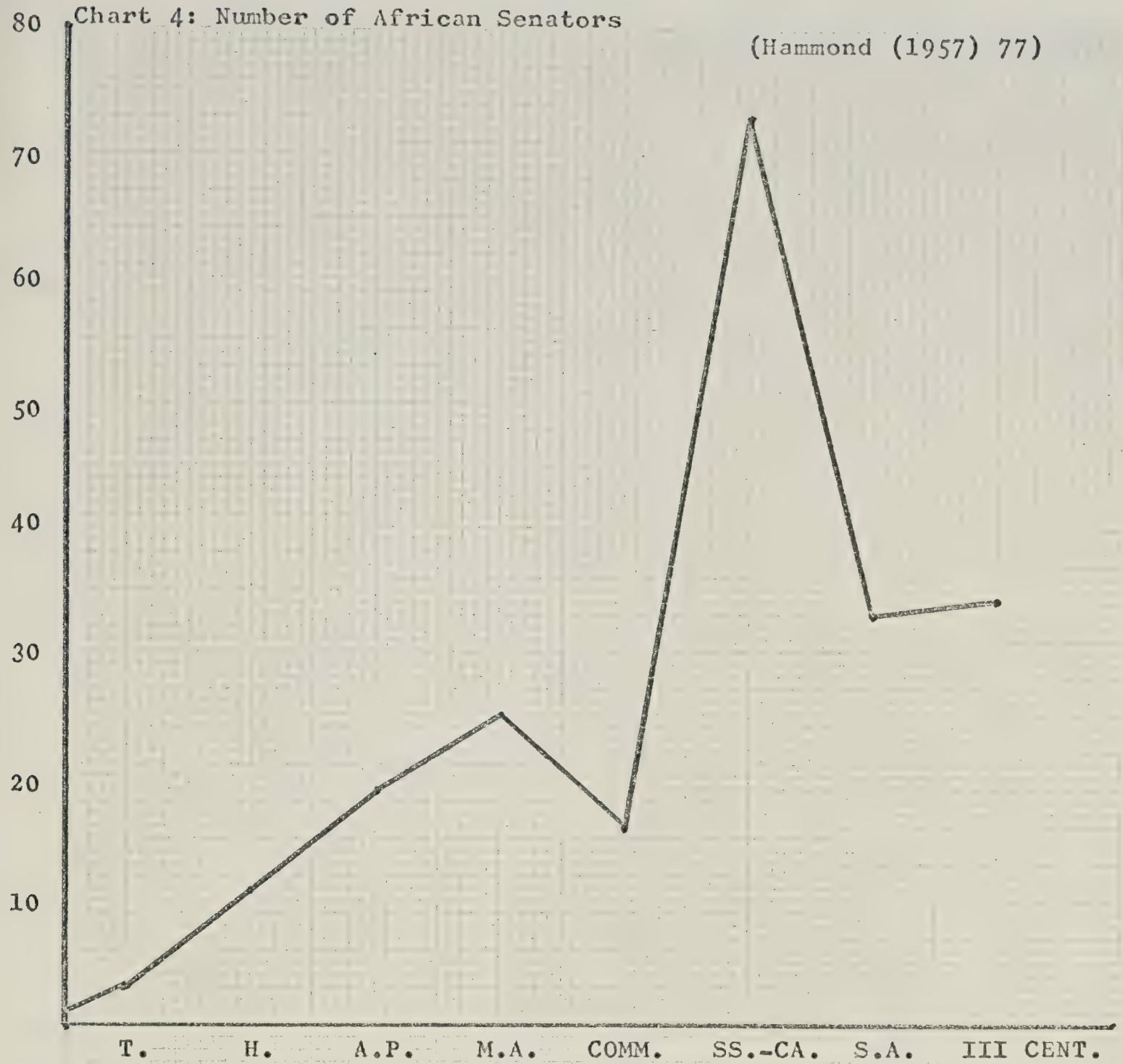
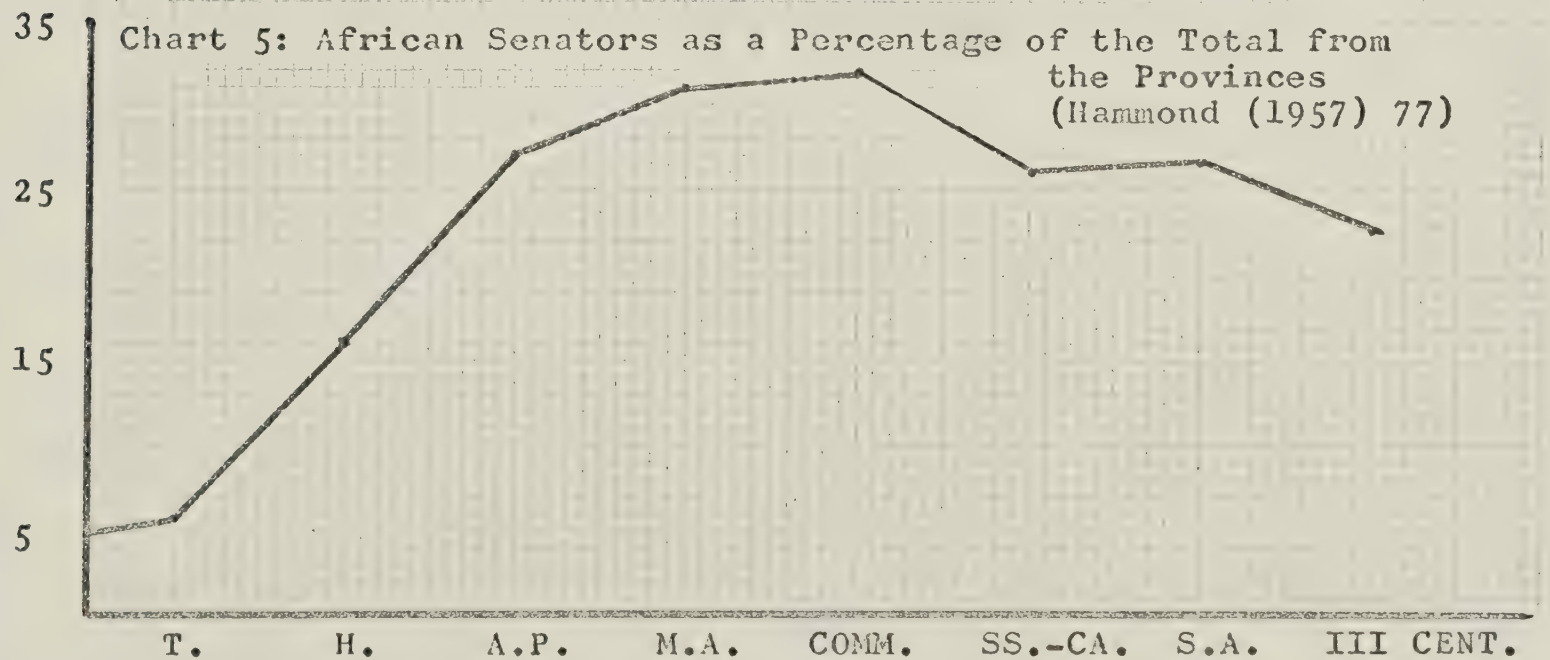


Chart 5: African Senators as a Percentage of the Total from the Provinces

(Hammond (1957) 77)



(000) Chart 6: Public Building Expenditures per Annum (total)
(Duncan-Jones (1962) 172-173)

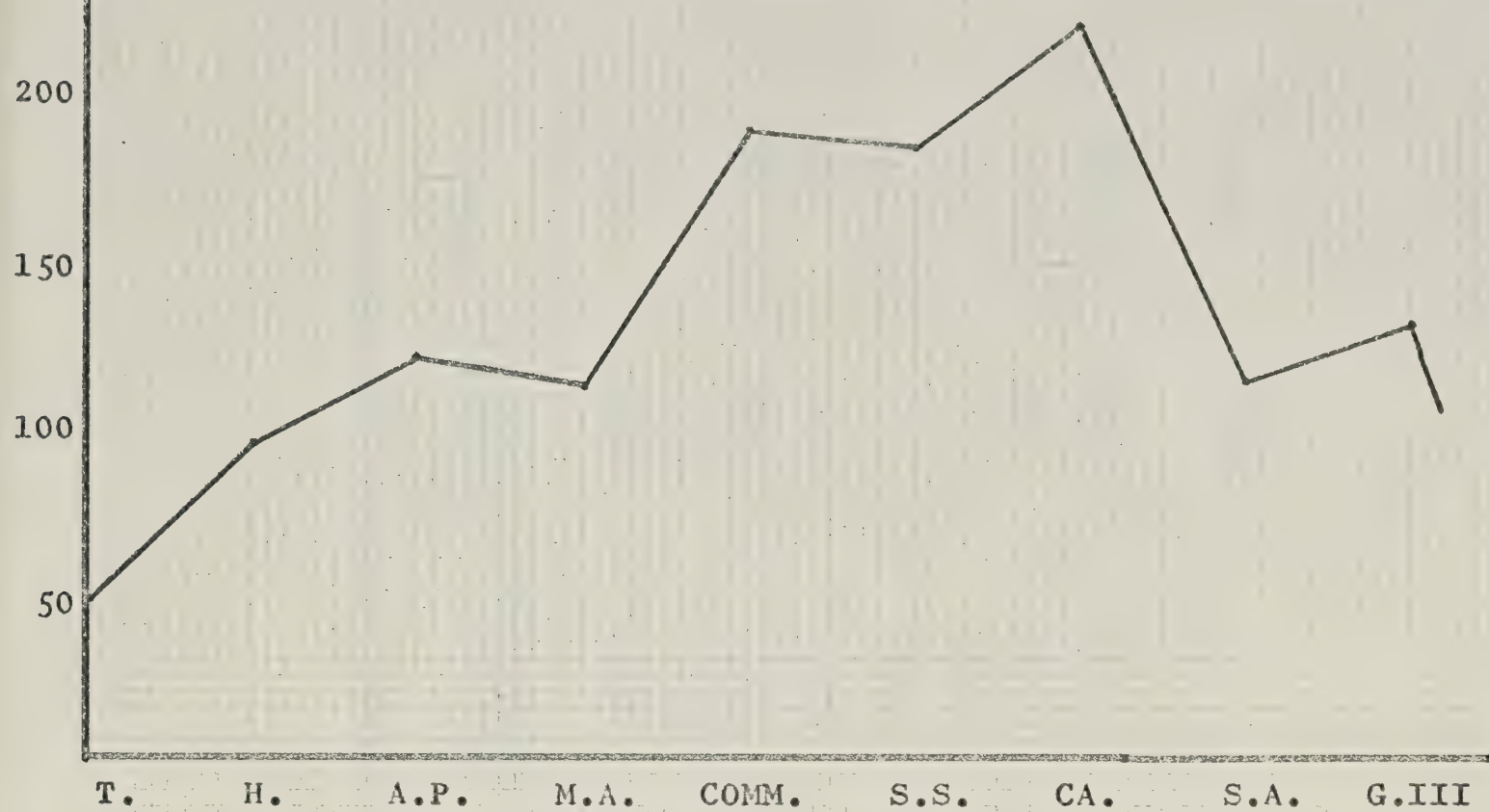


Chart 7: Public Building Expenditures per Annum (Decurial Sample)
(Duncan-Jones (1962) 172-173)



Chart 8: Business of the Ordines as revealed in African Inscriptions

	d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)	d(ecreto) ordinis	Total
Dedications: To the Imperial Family	35.5%	7.0%	42.5%
To Municipal Magistrates	8.0%	9.5%	17.5%
To Municipal Patrons	3.0%	4.0%	7.0%
To Provincial Governors	3.0%	2.0%	5.0%
To Imperial Officials	3.0%	*	3.0%
To Various Deities	4.5%	*	4.5%
"Locus Datus"	10.8%	1.4%	12.2%
Other Business	2.5%	5.5%	8.0%
* negligible percentage			
	Total		99.7%

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